

1107
REPRESENTATION

Of The

Threatning Dangers ,

Impending Over

PROTESTANTS

In

GREAT BRITTAIN.

With an Account of the *Arbitrary* and *Popish Ends*, unto which the *Declaration* for *Liberty of Conscience* in *England*, and the *Proclamation* for a *Toleration* in *Scotland*, are designed.

Neque enim satis amarint bonos Principes, qui malos satis non oderint.

Plin. in Panegy. c. 53.

Sedem obtinet Principis, ne sit Domino locus. id. ibid. c. 55.

Tantum tibi licet, quantum per leges licebit, Pacat. ad Theodos. August.

Gay 602.578.9



By exchange

(Yale University Library)

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They are great strangers to the Transactions of the World, who know not how many and various the attempts of the *Papists* have been, both to hinder all endeavours towards a *Reformation*, & to overthrow and subvert it where it hath obtained and prevailed. For beside the innumerable Executions and Murders committed by means of the *Inquisition* to crush and stifle the *Reformed Religion* in its rise and birth, and to prevent its succeeding and settlement in *Spain, Italy*, and many other *Territories*; there is no *Kingdom* or *State*, where it hath so far prevailed as to come to be universally received and legally established, but it hath been through strange and wonderful conflicts with the rage and malice of the *Church of Rome*. The Persecutions which the *Primitive Christians* underwent by vertue of the *Edicts* of the *Pagan Emperors*, were not more sanguinary and cruel, than what through the *Laws* and *Ordinances* of *Popish Princes*, have been inflicted upon those, who have testified against the Heresies, Superstitions, and Idolatries, and have withdrawn from the Communion of the *Papal Church*. Nor were the *Martyrs* that suffered for the Testimony of *Jesus* against *Heathenism*, either more numerous or worthier of esteem for vertue, Justice and Piety; than they who have been slaughtered, upon no other pretence, but for Endeavouring to restore the *Christian Religion* to the simplicity and purity of its Divine and first Institution, and to recover it from the corruptions, wherewith it was become universally tainted in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline. How have all the Nations in *Europe* been soaked with the Blood of Saints, through the Barbarous Rage of *Popish Rulers*, whom the *Roman Bishops* and *Clergy* stirred up and incited, in order to support themselves in their secular grandure, and in their Tyranny over the Consciences of men, and to keep the World in Slavery under Ignorance, Errors,

Superstition and Idolatry, which the Reducing Christianity again to the Rule of the Gospel, would have redeemed mankind from, and been an effectual means to have dissipated and subverted? They of the *Roman Communion*, having strangely corrupted the *Christian Religion* in its Faith, Worship, and Discipline, and having prodigiously altered it, from what it was in the *Doctrines* and *Institutions* of our *Saviour* and his *Apostles*; they found no other way whereby to sustain their Errors and Corruptions, and to preserve themselves in the possession of that Empire, which they had usurped over Conscience, and in the enjoyment of the Wealth and secular Greatness, which by working upon the Ignorance, Superstition, Lusts, and Prophanness of People, they had skrewed and wound themselves into, but by adjudging all who durst detect or oppose them, to fire and Sword, or to miseries, to which Death in its worst shape were preferable. Nor have they for the better obstructing the growth, and compassing the Extirpation of the *Reformed Religion*, omitted either the Arts and Subtilties of *Julian*, or the Fury and Violence of *Gabriel* and *Diocletian*. Whosoever hath not observed the Craft and Rage that have been employed and exerted against *Protestants* for these 170. Years, must have been very little Conversant in Histories, and strangely overlookt the conduct of affaires in the World, and the Transactions in Churches and States, during their owntime. And tho the *Papists* do not think it fit, to put their *Maxims* for preserving the *Catholic Religion*, and converting *Hereticks*, in Execution at all times, and in every place, yet some of their Writers are so ingenuous, as to tell us the reason of it, and that they do not forbear it upon Principles of *Christianity* or good Nature, but upon motives of *Policy* and *Fear*; lest the cutting one of our Throats might endanger two of their own. However they have been careful not to suffer a period of twenty years to elapse

since the beginning of the *Reformation*, without affording us in some place or another, renewed evidences of *Papal* Charity, and of the *Roman* method of hindring the growth of *Heresie*, either by a Massacre, War, or Persecution, begun, and executed, upon no other account or provocation, but merely that of our *Religion*, and because we cannot believe and practice in the matters of God, as they do. And having obtained of late, great Advantages for the pursuing their malice against us, more boldly and avowedly than at an other Season, and that not only through a strange concurrence and conjunction of *Princes* in the *Papal* Communion, who are more intoxicated with their Superstitions and Idolatries, or less wise, merciful, and humane, than some of their Predecessors of that Fellowship were, but through having obtained a *Prince* intirely devoted unto them, & under the implicit guidance of their Priests, to be advanced unto a Throne, where such sometime used to sit, as were the Terror of *Rome*, the Safeguard of the *Reformed Religion*, and the Sanctuary of oppressed *Protestants*; they have thereupon both assumed a Courage of stirring up new and unprecedented Persecutions in divers places, against the most useful, best and loyallest of Subjects, upon no other charge or Allegation, but for dissenting from the *Tridentine* Faith, and denying Subjection to the Tripple Crown, and are raised into a Confidence of wholly Extirpating *Protestancy*, and of reestablishing the *Papal* Tyrannies and Superstition, in the several Countries whence they had been expelled, or stood so depressed and discountenanced, as that the Votaries and Partizans of their Church, had not the Sway and Domination. Nor need we any other conviction both of their Design, and of their Confidence of Succeeding in it, than what they have already done, & continue to pursue in *France*, *Hungary* and *Piedmont*, where their prospering to such a degree in their Cruel and Barbarous Attempts, not only gives them boldness of entertaining thoughts

of taking the like Methods, and Acting by the same measures, in all places where they find Rulers at their beck, and under their Influence, but to unite and provoke all *Papish Monarchs* to enter into a holy War against *Protestants* every where, that by Conquering and Subduing those States and Kingdoms, where the *Reformed Religion* is received and established, they may extirpate it out of the World, under the Notion of the Northern Heresie. If principles of humanity, Maxim's of Interest, Rules of Policy, Obligations of Gratitude, Ties of Royal and Princely Faith, or the repeated Promises, Oaths, Edicts, and Declarations of Sovereigns, could have been a Security to *Protestants*, for the Profession of their Faith and Exercise of their Worship, in the forementioned Territories and Dominions, they had all that could be rationally desired, for their Safety and Protection, in the free and open profession and Practice of their Religion; whereas by a violation of all that is Sacred among men, of a binding vertue unto Princes (except Chains and Fetters) or that confer a Right, Claim, and Security unto Subjects, the poor *Protestants* in those Places, have been, and still are, persecuted with a rage and Barbarity, which no age can parallel, and for which it is difficult to find words proper and severe enough, whereby to stamp a Character of infamy, upon the treacherous, cruel, and savage Authors, Promoters, and Instruments of it. Nor do's it proceed from a Malignancy of Nature peculiar to the *Emperor*, the *French King*, and the *Duke of Savoy*, above what is in other Princes of the same Communion, or that they are more regardless of Fame, and less concerned how future generations will brand their Memories, than other *Papal Monarchs* seem to be, that they have suffered themselves to be prevailed upon, to violate the Promises and Oaths they were bound by to their *Protestant* Subjects; seeing the *Empour* is character'd for a person of a meek and gentle temper, and of the goodness of whole Nature, therer emain some shadows

interwoven with the bloody streaks of the *Hungarian* Persecution. And the *French King* tho' he stand not much commended for sweetness and Benignity of disposition, is known to be unmeasurably Ambitious, of having his name transmitted to Posterity in Letters of Greatness and Honor, which his behaviour towards his Subjects of the *Reformed Religion*, is no way's adapted unto, but calculated to make him hereafter listed with *Nero* and *Julian*. As to the *Duke of Savoy*, there seems by the whole course of his other Actions, to be a certain Greatness of Mind in him, not easily consulting with that savage and brutal temper, which the Cruelties he hath exercised upon the *Protestants* in *Piedmont*, would intimate and denote. But it ariseth from the Mischievousness and Pestilency of their Religion, their Bigottry in it, and their having put themselves to entirely under the conduct of the *Clergy*, particularly of the *Jesuits*, who are for the most part a set of men, especially the latter, that through acting in the prospect of no other Ends, but the Grandure, Wealth, and Domination of the *Church of Rome*, do with an unlimited rage, and a peculiar kind of Malice, persecute all that have renounced Fellowship with it, and care not if they Sacrifice the Honor, Glory and Safety of *Monarchs*, and bring their Kingdoms into contempt and desolation, by rendring them weak, poor, and dispeopled, provided they may wreck their spleen, and revenge, upon those, whose Religion is not only dissonant from theirs, but should it prevail to be the Religion of the *Legislators* and *Rulers* of Nations, those springs of Wealth would be immediately dried up, by which their Superior *Clergy*, and all their Religious *Orders* are enriched and fed up in idleness. And should the People come to be generally imbued with principles of Gospel, Light and Liberty, they would immediately shake off a blind and slavish Dependence upon *Pope* and *Priests*, and thereby subvert the Foundation upon which the *Monarchick* Grandure of the *Romish Church*

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and their whole *Religion* is superstruck and destroy the Engine by which they are enabled to Lord it over the Bodies, Estates, and Consciences of men. And if *Protestants* every where, especially under *Popish* Rulers, were not under a strange Infatuation, they would look for no fairer Quarter from *Papists*, than what their Brethren have met with in *France* and *Piedmont*, nor would they rely upon the Faith of any *King*, that stiles himself a *Roman Catholick*, seeing Sacred Promises, tremendous Oaths, and the most Authentick Declarations, are but *Papal Arts*, and Tricks sanctified at *Rome*, whereby to lull Subjects into a Security, and delude them into a neglect of all means, for preserving themselves, and their Religion, till their Rulers can be in a condition, of obeying the *Decrees* of the *fourth Lateran Council*, that enjoins *Kings* to destroy and extirpate *Hereticks*; under pain of Excommunications; and of having both their Subjects absolved from Allegiance to them; and their Territories given away to others; and till without running any hazard, they may comply with the Ordinance of the Council of *Constance*, which not only releaseth them from all Obligation of keeping Faith to *Hereticks*, but requires them to violate it; and accordingly made *Sigismund* break his Faith to *John Hus*, whom in defiance of the Security given him by that *King*, they caused to be condemned and burnt. Nor is the practice and late Example of the *Great Louis*, designed for less than a pattern, by which all *Popish Princes* are to act, and his proceedings are to be the copy & Modell, which they who would merit the name of *Zealous Catholicks*, and be esteemed dutiful Sons of the *Church*, are to transcribe and limn out in lines of force, violence, and Blood, and for the better corresponding with the *Original*, to employ *Dragoons* for *Missionaries*.

And tho' I will not say, but that there may be some *Popish Princes*, who through an extraordinary measure of good Nature, and from principles of Compassion, woven into their Constitution, previously to all notices

ces of Revelation whether real, or pretended, and who through Sentiments imb'd from a generous Education, and their coming afterwards to be under the influence, and Management, of wise and discreet Counsellors, may be able to resist the malignant impressions of their Religion, and so be preserved, from the inhumanities towards those of different persuasions from them in the things of God, which their *Priests* would lay them under Obligations unto, by the Doctrines of the *Romish Faith*; yet there appears no reason why an understanding man should be induced to believe, that the *King of England*, is likely to prove a *Prince*, of that great and noble temper, there being more than enough, both to raise a jealousy and beget a persuasion, that there is not a *Monarch* among all those who are commonly stiled *Catholicks*, from whom *Protestants*, may justly dread greater Severities, than from *Him*, or look for worse and more Barbarous Treatments. I am not ignorant, with what candor, we ought by the Rules of Charity and good manners, to speak of all men, whatsoever their Religion is, nor am I unacquainted with what Veneration and Deference, we are to Discourse of Crowned Heads; but as I dare not give those flattering Titles unto any, of which there are not a few in some of the late *Addresses*, presented to the *King*, by an inconsiderable and foolish sort of *Dissenting Preachers*; so I should not know, how to be accountable to God, my own Conscience, or the World, should I not in my station as a *Protestant*, and as a Lover of the Laws and Liberties of my Countrey, offer something, whereby both to undeceive that weak and short-sighted People, whom their own being accommodated for a Season by the *Declaration of Indulgence*, hath deluded into an Opinion, that His Majesty cherisheth no thoughts of subverting our *Religion*, and also further to enlighten and confirm others, in the just apprehensions they are possessed with, of the design carrying on in Great *Brittain*, and *Ireland*, for the extirpation of *Protestancy*, and

that the late *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*, is emitted in subserviency thereunto, and calculated by the *Court*; toward the paving and preparing the way, for the more facile accomplishment of it. And while Mercenary *Sycophants*, by their Flatteries infect and corrupt Princes, and by their Representing them to the World, in Colours disagreeable from their tempers and dispositions, and in milder and fairer Characters, than any thing observable in them, either deserveth, or correspondeth with, do delude Subjects, into such Opinions of them, as beget a neglect of means for preserving themselves; 'tis become a necessary Duty, and an indispensable Service to mankind, to deal plainly and above board, that so by describing *Kings* as they are, and setting them in a true and just Light, we may prevent the Peoples being further imposed upon, or if through suffering themselves to be still deceived, they come to fall under miseries and persecutions, they may lay all their Distresses, and Desolations, at the door of their own folly, in not having taken care, how to avoid, what they were not only threatned with, but whereof they were warned and advertised. For as I am not of *Sr. Roger l'Estranges* mind, That
if we cannot avoide being distrustful Hist of the Times,
of our Safety, yet it is extremely vain,
foolish, and extravagant to talk of it; so I am very sensible how many of the *French Ministers*, by painting forth their *King* more like a God than a Man, and by possessing their people with a belief of Wisdom, Justice, Grace, and Mercy in *Him*, of which they knew him destitute; they both emboldned *him*, to attempt what he hath perpetrated, and laid them under snares, which they know not how to disentangle themselves from, in order to escape it. Nor would the *King of England*, have acted with that neglect of the future Safety of the *Papists*, nor have exposed them to the resentment, and hereafter revenge of three Nations, by the Arbitrary and Illegal steps he hath made in their favour, if he intended any thing less,
than

than the putting *Protestants* for ever out of capacity and condition, of calling them to a reckoning, and exacting an account of them, which neither *He*, nor they about him, can have the weakness to think they have sufficiently provided against, without compelling us by an *Order of à la mode France Missionaries* to turn *Catholicks*, or by adjudging us to *Minis* and *Galleys*, according to the *Versailles* President, for our Heretical Stubbornness, or which is the more expeditious way of *converting three Kingdoms*, to cause murder the *Protestant* Inhabitants, according to the pattern, which his Loyal *Irish Catholicks*, endeavoured to have set anno 1641. for the conversion of that Nation. Had his Majesty been contented with the bare avowing, and publishing himself to be of the Communion of the *Church of Rome*, and of challenging a Liberty, tho against Law, for the Exercise of his Religion, it might have awakened our Pity, and Compassion, to see him embrace a Religion, where there are so many impediments of Salvation, and in doing whereof, he was become obnoxious unto the imprecation of his Grandfather, who wished the curse of God, to fall upon such of his Posterity, as should at any time turn *Papists*; but it would have raised no intempered heats in the minds of any against him, much less have alienated them, from the Subjection and Obedience, which are due unto their Sovereign, by the Laws of the several Kingdoms, and the Fundamental Rules of the respective Constitutions. Or could he have been contented, with waiving the rigorous Execution of the Laws against *Papists*, of whatsoever Quality, Rank, or Order they were, and with the bestowing personal, and private Favours, upon those of his Religion; it would have been so far from begetting rancor or discontent in his *Protestant* Subjects, that they would not only have connived at, and approved such a procedure, and those little Benignities and Kindnesses, but had the *Papists* quietly acquiesced in them, and modestly improved them, it might have been a means of re-

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conciling the Nation to more lenity towards them for the future, and might have influenced our Legislators, when God shall vouchsafe us a *Protestant* on the Throne, moderate the Severities to which by the Laws in being they are obnoxious, and render their condition as easy, and safe, as that of other Subjects, and only to take care for precluding them such places of power and trust, as should prevent their being able to hurt us, but could bring no damage or inconvenience upon themselves. But the King instead of terminating here, and allowing only such Graces and Immunities to the *Papists*, as would have been enough, for the placing them in the private Exercise of their Religion, with Security to them, and without any threatening danger to us. He hath not only suspended all the penal Laws against *Roman Catholicks*, but hath by an usurped Prerogative, that is paramount to the Rules of the Constitution, and all Acts of Parliament, dispensed with, and disabled the Laws that enjoin the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy, and which appoint and prescribe the Tests, that were the Fence which the Wisdom of the Nation had erected, for preserving the Legislative Authority, securing the Government, and keeping places of Power, Magistracy and Office in the Hands of *Protestants*, and thereby continuing the *Protestant* Religion, and English Liberties, to our selves, and the generation that shall come after us. And as if this were not sufficient, to awaken us to a consideration of the danger we are in, of having our Religion supplanted and overthrown. He hath not only advanced the most violent *Papists*, unto all places of Military command by Sea and Land; but hath established many of them, in the Chief Trusts and Offices of Magistracy, and Civil Judicature, so that there are scarce any continued in Power and Employment, save they who have either promised, to turn *Roman Catholicks*, or who have engaged, to concur and assist in the subverting our Liberties, and Religion, under the Mask and disguise of *Protestants*.

is already evident, that it is beyond the help, and relief, of all Peaceable and Civil means, to preserve and uphold the *Protestant Religion* in *Ireland*, and that nothing but force and an intestine War, can retrieve it unto, and reestablish it there, in any degree of safety. Nor is it less apparent, from the Arbitrary and Tyrannous *Oath*, ordained to be required of His Majesties *Protestant Subjects* in *Scotland*, whereby they are to swear Obedience to Him without Reserve, that our Religion is held only precariously in that Kingdom; and that whensoever he shall please to command the establishment of *Papery*, and to enjoin the people to enter into the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, He expects to have his Will immediately conformed unto, and not to be disputed or controlled. But lest what we are to expect from the King, as to the extirpation of the *Reformed Religion*, and the inflicting the utmost Severities upon his *Protestant Subjects*, that Papal rage, armed with power, can enable him unto, may not so fully appear, from what hath been already intimated, as either to awaken the *Dissenters* out of the *Leibgery*, into which the late *Declaration* hath cast them, or to quicken those of the Church of *England*, to that zealous care, vigilancy, and use of all lawful means, for preserving themselves, and the *Protestant Religion*, that the imminent danger, wherewith they are threatened; requires at their hands; I shall give that former Confirmation of it, from *Topicks* and *Motives* of Credibility, *Moral*, *Political*, and *Historical*, as may serve to place it in the truest light, and fullest evidence, that a matter future and yet to come, which is only the object of our prospect and dread, and not of our feeling and experience, is capable of.

It ought to be of weight upon the minds of all *English Protestants*, that the King of Great Britain, is not only an open and avowed *Papist*, but as most *Apostates* use to be, a very *Bigot* in the *Romish Religion*, and who the *Leige Letter* from a *Jesuite* to a Brother of the Order tells us, is resolved either to

convert England to *Papery*, or to die a Martyr. Nor were the *Jewish* zealots, of whose rageful transports, *Iosephus* gives us so ample an account, nor the *Dervises* among the *Turks*, and *Indians*, of whose mad attempts, so many *Histories* make mention, more brutal in their fanatical Heats, than a *Popish Bigot* useth to be, when favoured with advantages, of exerting his animosity against those who differ from him, if he be not carefully watched against, and restrained. Beside the innumerable instances of the Tragical Effects of *Romish Bigottry*, that are to be met with in Books of all kinds, we need go no further for an evidence of it, than to consult the Life of *Dominick*, the great Instigator and Promoter of the Massacre of the *Waldenses*, and the Founder of that Order, which hath the Management of the bloody *Inquisition*; together with the Life of *Henry* the third of *France*, who contrary to the advice of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and the repeated intreaties of the wisest of his own Councillors, the *Chancellor de l'Hospital*, and the *President de Thou*, not only revived the War and Persecution against his *Reformed Subjects*, after he had seen what Judgments, the like proceedings had derived upon his Predecessors, and how prejudicial they had proved to the Strength, Glory, and Interest of his Crown and Kingdom, but he entered into a League with those that sought to depress, abdicate, and depose him, and became the Head of a Faction for the destroying that part of his Subjects, upon whom alone he could rely for the defence of his person, and support of his Dignity. Nor were the Furies of the *Duke de Alva* heretofore, or the present Barbarities of *Louis* the Fourteenth, so much the effects of their haughtie and furious tempers, as of their *Bigottry* in their inhumane and sanguinary Religion. That the King of *England*, is second to none, in a blind and rageful *Popish Zeal*, his behaviour both while a Subject, and since he arrived at the Crown, doth not only place it beyond the limits of a bare suspicion, but affords us such evidences of it, as that none

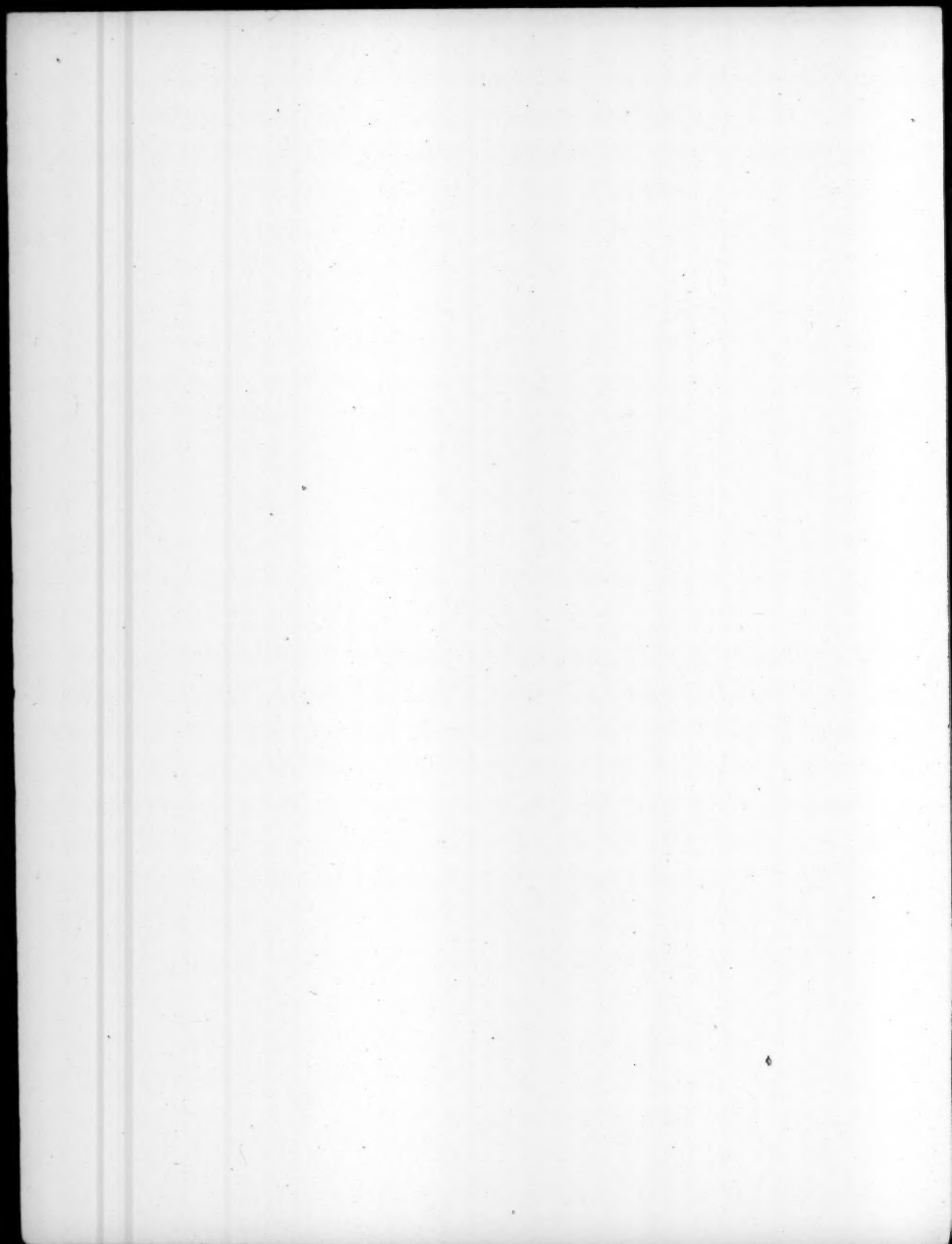
in consistency with principles of wisdom, and discretion, can either question or contradict it. To what else can we ascribe it, but to an excessive *Bigottry*, that when the *Frigat* wherein he was sailing to *Scotland* anno 1682. struck upon the Sands, and was ready to sink, he should prefer the Lives of one or two pitiful *Priests*, to those of men of the greatest *Quality*, and receive those mushroom's into the Boat, in which himself escaped, while at the same time, he refused to admit, not only his own *Brother-in-Law*, but divers Noblemen of the Supreme Rank, and Character, to the benefit of the same means of deliverance, and suffered them to perish, tho they had undertaken that Voyage out of pure respect to his person, and to put an Honor upon him, at a Season, when he wanted not Enemies. Nor can it proceed from any thing but a violent and furious *Bigottry*, that he should not only disoblige and disgust the two *Universities*, of whose Zeal to his service, he hath received so many seasonable and effectual Testimonies, but to the violation both of the *Laws of God* and the *Kingdom*, offer force to their Consciences, as well as to their Rights and Franchises, and all this in favour of *Father Francis*, whom he would illegally thrust into a *Fellowship* in *Cambridg*, and of *Mr. Farmer*, whom he would arbitrarily obtrude into the *Headship* of a *Colledg* in *Oxford*, who as they are too despicable to be owned, and stood for, in competition against two famous *Universities*, whose greatest crime, hath been an excess of zeal for his person, and interest, when he was *Duke of York*, and a measure of *Loyalty*, and *Obedience*, unto him, since he came to the *Crown*, beyond what either the Rules of Christianity, or the Laws of the *Kingdom*, exact from them; so he hath way's enough of expressing kindness, and bounty, to those two little contemptible Creatures, and that in methods as beneficial to them, as the places into which he would thrust them, can be supposed to amount unto, and I am sure with less scandal to himself, and less offence to all Pro-

testants, as well as without offering injury to the Rights of the *University*, or of compelling those learned, grave, and venerable men, to perjure themselves, and act against their Duties and Consciences. The late proceedings towards *Dr. Burnet*, is not only contrary to all the measures of Justice, Law, and Honor, but argue a strange and furious *Bigottry* in His Majesty for *Perry*, there being nothing else into which man can resolve the whole tenor of his present Actings against Him. Seeing setting aside the Doctor's being a *Protestant*, and a Minister of the *Church of England*, and his having vindicated the Reformation in *England*, from the Calumnies, and slanders, wherewith was aspersed by *Sanders*, & others, of the *Roman* Communion, and the approving himself in some other Writings, worthy of the Character of a *Reformed Divine*, and of the esteem which the World entertains of him for knowledge in History, and all other parts of good learning; there hath nothing occurred in the whole tenor and trace of his Life, but what instead of Rebuke and Censure, hath merited acknowledgments, and the Retributions of Favour and Preferment from the *Court*. Whosoever considers, his constant Preaching up passive Obedience to such a degree and height, as he hath done. May very well be surpris'd at the whole method of their present actings towards him, and at the same time that they find cause to justify the Righteousness of God, in making them the Instruments of his persecution, whom in so many way's he had sought to oblige, they may justly conclude that none save a *Bigotted Papist* could be the Author of so infutable, as well as illegal, and unrighteous returns. For as to all whereof he is accused, in the *Criminal Letters* against him, bearing date the 19. of *April* 1687. I my self am both able to assert his *innocence*, and dare assure the World, that none of the persons whom he is charged to have conspired with against the *King*, would have been so far void of discretion, (knowing his principles) as to have transacted with him.

in matters of that kind; but whether Letters since that, to the *Earl of Middlesex*, with the *Paper*, inclosed in one of them, have administered any *Legal* ground to their *Second Citation*, I shall not take up time to determine, and will only say, that I heartily wish, he had not in those *Letters* afforded them, any probable pretence, for proceeding against him, so there are excesses of *Loyalty* in them, to atone for the utmost indiscretions; his words are capable of being wrested unto, nor can any thing but *Papal Malice*, and *Romish Chicanie*, construe, and pervert them, so far contrary to his intentions; as to make crimes, and much less to make Treasons of them. Now as nothing, can be of more portentous *Omen* to *British* and *Irish Protestants*, than to have a *Popish* *Bigot* exalted to Rule over them; so thro concurrence of ill nature, and a deficiency in intellectuals, met in him with his furious Zeal and *Bigottry*, they are the more to expect, whatsoever his Power enables him to inflict, that is severe and dreadful. 'Tis possible, that a Ruler may be possessed with a Fondness, and Valuation of *Popery*, as the only Religion, wherein Salvation is to be obtained, and thereupon in his private Judgment and Opinion, sentence all to eternal Flames, who cannot herd with him in the same Society; and yet he may thro a great measure of Humanity, and from an extraordinary proportion of compassion, and meekness, woven into his nature, hate the imbruing his hands in their Blood, or treating those with any harshness, whose supposed misbelief is their only Crime; and that finding them in all other respects, virtuous, peaceable and industrious, He may leave them to the decreitive Sentence of the Sovereign and infallible Judge, without disturbing, or meddling with them himself. Nor is it impossible, but that there may be a Prince so far *Bigotted* in *Popery*, as to have inclination, and propensity, to force all under his Authority, to be of his Religion, or else to destroy and extirpate them, yet thro being of that largeness of Understanding

and *Political Wisdom*, as to be able to penetrate into the hazards of attempting it, and to foresee the Consequences that may ensue upon it, in reference to the Peace and Safety of his Government, as well as the Wealth and power of his Dominions, he may come to check and stifle his furious Inclinations, and chuse rather, to leave his Subjects at quiet, than to impoverish, weaken, and dispeople his Countrey, either by destroying them, or by driving them to abandon his Territories, in order to find a Shelter, and Sanctuary, in other places. But where (as in the *King of England*) a small measure of Understanding, accompanied with a large share of a Morose, Fierce, and ill Nature, and these attended with Insolency and pride, as they usually are in weak and froward people, come to have a *Bigottry* in such a Religion as *Popery*, superadded to them, whose Doctrines and Principles instigate, and oblige, to Cruelty, towards all of other persuasions, there *Protestants*, do find nothing, that may encourage to hope for security, and protection, under a *Prince* of that temper and complexion; but all that does affect and impress their minds, bids them prepare for persecution, and to look for the utmost rigorous and severities, that pride, malice, brutal zeal, backt and supported with force and power, can execute and inflict. And how much such a *Princes* Religion, proves too weak to restrain him from uncleannesses, and other immoralities, by so much the more, is he to be dreaded, in that he thinks to compound for and expiate Crimes of that nature, by his cruelty to *Hereticks*, and his offering them up in Sacrifices of Attonement to the *Triple Crown*. Nor are the *Priests* either displeased with, or careful to dissuade Princes, from Offences of that kind, tho they know them to be great provocations to God, and of mischievous example to Subjects, seeing they are Masters of the Art of improving them, to the Service of *Holy Church*, and the Advantage of the *Catholik Fairb*. For instead of imposing, upon those *Royal Transgressors*,





Tors, the little and Slavish *Pennances*, of Pilgrimages, whippings, and going bare-foot; they require them to make satisfactions for those and the like Crimes, by the pious and meritorious Acts of murdering *Protestants*, and of extirpating the *Northern Heresie*. And as one of the *French Whore's* of State is reported to have been a person that hath principally infligated to all the Cruelties against the *Reformed in France*; so no doubt but as she did it under the influence and conduct of her *Confessors* to compensate for her Adulteries, so she advised and persuaded *Louis* to it upon motives of the same nature. Nor do they who have the guidance of Consciences at *Whitchal* want matter of the same kind, to improve and work upon, and as there are of the licentious *Femal's* that will be glad of atoning for their filthy pollutions by Acts so agreeable to the *Articles* of their Religion; so there are some who as they have influence enough upon the *King* to counsel *Him* to the like Method's, so they will find *Him* sufficiently disposed to compound for his Loathsome and Promiscuous scatterings at a rate so suitable to his temper, as well as to the Doctrines of the *Papal Faith*.

If any be deluded into a good Opinion of *His Majesty*, and brought to flatter themselves with expectations of their being protected in the profession of the *Protestant Religion*, they may be easily undeceived and prevailed upon to change their Sentiments, if they will but consider his behaviour towards *Protestants* in the *post* wherein he formerly stood, and what his carriage was to them, while he was fixed in a meaner and more subordinate station than now he is. Tho there have been many whose behaviour in their private condition, would have rendred them thought worthy to Rule, if their actions after their advancement to Governing power had not confuted the Opinion entertained concerning them; yet there have been very few that have approved themselves just and merciful after their attaining to Sovereignty, whose ear-

riage in an inferior station, had been to the damage, and general hurt of mankind, as far as their narrow power and interest would extend. It ought therefore to lay us under a conviction, what we are to expect from *His Majesty* on the *Throne*, when we find the whole thread and series of his conduct while a *Subject*, to have been a continued design against our Religion, and an uninterrupted plot for the subversion of our *Laws and Liberties*. 'Tis sufficiently known how active he always was to keep up and inflame the differences among *Protestants*, and how he was both a great Promoter of all the severe *Laws* made against *Dissenters*, and a continual instigator to the rigorous Execution of them: So that his affirming *is to have been ever his judgment that none ought to be oppressed and persecuted for matters of Religion*, nor to be hindered in Worshipping *God* according to their several persuasions; serves only to inform us, either with what little Honesty, Honor, and Conscience he acted, in concurring to the making of the fore-said *Laws*, or what small faith and credit is now to be given to his *Declaration*, and to what he hath since the Emission of it repeated both in his *Speech to Mr. Penn*, and in his *Letter to Mr. Alsop*. And to omit many other Instances of his kindness and Benignity to the *Fanaticks*, whom he now so much hugs and caresseth; it may not be amiss to remember *them*, and all other *Protestants*, of that Barbarous and illegal *Commission* issued forth by the *Council of Scotland*, while *He*, as the late Kings *High Commissioner*, had the management of the affairs of that Kingdom; by which every *Military Officer* that had command over twelve men was empower'd to *impanel Juries*, try, condemn, and cause to be put to death, not only those who should be found to disclaim the Kings Authority, but such as should refuse to acknowledge the Kings new modelled *Supremacy* over that *Church*; in the pursuance and execution of which *Commission*, some were shot to death, others were hang'd or drowned, and this not only during the

entirety of the Reign of his late Majesty, at full ere a year and a half after the present King came to the Crown. But what need is there of insinuating upon such little particulars, wherein he was at all times ready to express his malice to Protestants, seeing we have not only Dr. Oates's Testimony, and that of divers others, but most authentic proofs from Mr. Coleman's Letters, of his having been in a Conspiracy several years for the subversion of our Religion, upon the meritorious and sanctified Motive of extirpating the Northern Heresie. Of which beside all the Evidence that four Successive Parliaments arrived at, I know several who since the Duke of York ascended the Throne have had it confirmed unto them by divers forraign Papiests, that were less reserved, or more ingenuous than many of that Communion use to be. To question the Existence of that Plot, and his present Majesties having been accessory unto, and in the head of it, argues a strange effrontery and impudence thro casting an aspersion of weakness, folly and injustice not only upon those three Parliaments that seem'd to have remained some zeal for English Liberties, but by fastning the same imputations upon the long Parliament, which had shew'd it self at all times more obsequious to the will of the Court, than was either for their own Honor, or the safety and Interest of the Kingdom, and who had expressed a Veneration for the Royal Family, that approached too much unto a degree of Idolatry. Whosoever considers that Train of Councils wherein the King was many years engaged, and whereof we felt the woful effects in the burning of London; the frequent Prorogation and Dissolution of Parliaments; the widening and exasperating Differences among Protestants; the stirring up and provoking Cruel Magistrates and Ecclesiastical Courts, to persecute Dissenters; and the maintaining Correspondencies with the Pope and Catholick Princes abroad, to the dishonor of the Nation and danger of our Laws and Religion, cannot avoid being apprehensive what we are now to look for at

his hands, nor can he escape, thinking that he esteems his Advancement to the Crown, both a reward from heaven for what he hath done and plotted against these three Kingdoms, and an opportunity and advantage administered unto him for the perfecting and accomplishment of all those Designs with which he hath been so long bigg and in travel for the destruction of our Religion, the subversion of our Laws, and the reestablishment of Popery in these Dominions.

The conduct and guidance under which His Majesty hath put himself, and the fiery temper of that Order to whose Government he hath resigned his Conscience, may greatly add to our fears, and give us all the jealousy and dread that we are capable of being impressed with in reference to matters to come, that there is nothing which can be fatal to our Religion or persons, that we may not expect the being called to conflict with and suffer. For tho most of the Popish Ecclesiasticks, especially the Regulars, bear an inveterate malice to Protestants, and hold themselves under indispensable Obligations of eradicating whatsoever their Church stiles Heresie, and have accordingly been always forward to stir up and provoke Rulers, to the use and application of force for the destruction of Protestants, as a Company of perverse and obstinate Hereticks, adjoined and condemned to the Stake and Gibbet by the infallible Chaire; yet of all men in the Communion of the Romish Church, and of their Religious Orders, the Jesuits are they who do most hate us, and whose Councils have been most sanguinary, and always tending to influence those Monarchs, whose Consciences they have had the guiding and conducting of, to the utmost Cruelties and Barbarities towards us. What our Brethern have had measured out to them in France thro Faubert de la Chaise's influence upon that King, and thro the bewitching power and domination he hath over him in the quality of his Confessor, and as having the direction of his Conscience, may very well allarm and inform us what we ought to expect from His Majesty

Majesty of Great Britain, who hath surrendered his Conscience to the guidance of *Father Peters*, a person of the same Order, and of the like mischievous and bloody disposition that the former is. 'Tis well observed by the *Author of the Reasons against repealing the Acts of Parliament concerning the Test*, that *Cardinal Howard's* being of such a meek and gentle temper that is able to withstand the Malignity of his Religion, and to preserve him from concurring in those mischievous Councils, which his purple might seem to oblige him unto, is the reason of his being shut out from acquaintance with, and interest in the *English* affaires transacted at *Rome*, and that whatsoever his Majesty hath to do in that Court is managed by his Ambassador under the sole direction of the *Jesuites*. So that it is not without cause, that the *Jesuite of Liège* in his intercepted and lately printed *Letter*, tells a *Brother* of the Order what a wonderful veneration the *King* hath for the Society, and with what profound submission he receives those Reverend *Fathers* and hearkens to whatsoever they represent. Nor is His *Majesties* being under the influence of the *Jesuites* thro having one of them for his Confessor, and several of them for his Chief Councillors and principal Confidants, the only thing in this matter that awakens our fear in what we are to expect from his armed power, excited and stirred by that fiery Tribe; but there is another ground why we ought more especially to dread him, and that is his being entred and enrolled into the Order and become a Member of the Society, whereby he is brought into a greater subjection and dependence upon them, and stands bound by ties and engagements of being obedient to the Commands of the General of the *Jesuites*, and that not only in *Spirituals*, but in whatsoever they shall pretend to be subservient to the exaltation of the Church, and for upholding the glory of the *Triple Crown*. This is a Mystery which few are yet acquainted with, and which both His Majesty, and the Order judge it their interest to have industriously concealed, but whereof the World

may ere long receive that convictive intelligence, that there will be no room left for suspecting the truth of it, and whereof a *Letter* in the late printed *Letter from Liège* hath given us already sufficient intimation, both in telling us, That the *King of England* styles himself a Son of the Society, and how that he wrote to *Father de la Chaise*, that he would account every injury done to the *Jesuites* to be a wrong committed against himself. Neither is it so surprising as it may seem at first view, that the *King* should list himself a Member of the Order, seeing there have been four other Crowned Heads of whose Entrance and matriculation into the Society, there is all the evidence and assurance imaginable. And tho one of them is acknowledged to have been in the Class of the Directors, while the other three are generally believed to have been in the Form of the Directed, yet such was the power of the Society over them all, that a great part of the Cruelty exercised towards Protestants both in the last age and in this, is to be ascribed to that implicate and blind Obedience which they were bound to yield to the injunctions of the Order, and to the Commands of the General. Philip the Second of Spain, who was the first King that entred into the Order, and who did it upon motives of Policy in hopes by their means to have compassed the Universal Monarchy which he was aspiring after, and who thro being in the Class of Directors, had advantages of using and improving, and not of being in that degree of servitude unto them which the others have been; yet to what barbarous Cruelties did they overrule and instigate him, not only to the destruction of unconceivable numbers of his Subjects, whose only Crime was that they could not believe as the Church of *Rome* doth, which issued in the depopulating some of his Dominions, and his being deposed from the Sovereignty in others: but to the sacrificing his Son and Heir Prince Charles, whom to gratify the Society, he caused upon an Accusation of his favouring the Low Country Hereticks, and the being himself tainted with Lutheranism to be murdered in

is a Court and Palace. *Sigismund* of *Poland*, who was the second crowned Head admitted into the *Order*, thro' complying with the Councils, and serving the wrath, rage and passions of the *Jesuits*, in endeavouring to suppress *Religion* in *Swedenland* to which he was *Heir*, and in striving to subvert their *Civil Rights*, drew upon himself the resentment and wrath of that Nation to such a degree, that they abdicated him and his *Heirs* from the Government, and advanced another to the Throne. *Casimire* who was also King of *Poland* is reckoned to be the third Sovereign Prince that entred into the *Society*, and he thro' coming under the Domination of the *Jesuits*, and being bound to follow their directions, and to execute whatsoever the *General* of the *Order* thought fit to enjoin for the promotion and benefit of the *Church*, became not only an Instrument of a severe persecution against all sort of Dissenters from the Romish Faith, so that many were put to death, and more driven to abandon their Countrey, but through committing many things in the course of his Government that were prejudicial to the Rights, and thereupon disgusting to the *Polish* Nobility, they conceived such an aversion and hatred for him, that to avoid the effects of their resentment and indignation, he was forced to lay down his Crown, and to chuse to end his day's in *France* in no higher a Post, and under no more glorious a Character, than that of *Abbot* of *Saint German*. There is a fourth Prince, and who is yet in being, that is generally believed to be enrolled into the *Order*, and the persecution he hath carried on in *Hungary*, contrary to his natural temper, and to all the Rules of Interest and Policy, and to the violation of his Promises and Oaths for continuing unto them the Liberty of their Religion, is both too probable an evidence of it, and a strong confirmation of the cruelties which the *Jesuits* instigate *Princes* unto over whom they have influence, and whom they have wheeled into engagements of obeying their commands and pursuing their

injunctions. And as the desolating of *Hungary* thro' a long and bloody War, and the tempting the *Turks* to invade the *Austrian* Territories, are some of the effects that have ensued upon the *Emperor's* complying with the fierce and heady Councils of the *Jesuits*; so we have not seen all the mischiefs that the persecution, which they have engaged him in against *Protestants* is like to issue in, tho' beside the disgusting several *Electoral* Princes and States in *Germany*, and the furnishing the *Ottoman* Potentate with Encouragements of continuing the War, there are wonderful advantages afforded by it, to embolden the *French King* in his encroachments upon the Empire, which otherway's he would not have dared to attempt, and whereof the result at last may prove fatal to the *Imperial* Dignity, and to the whole House of *Austria*. Now what the *Protestants* in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* ought to dread from the *King*, upon his being entred into a *Society* that hath breathed nothing but fire and blood since its first Institution, I leave to the serious consideration of all men who value their Lives, Liberties and Estates, and that do not think of renouncing their Religion, and turning *Papists*. Nor is it to be imagined that the *King*, before he can be supposed well settled on the Throne, and while under a declining state of Body, as well as in an advanced age, having the weight of four and fifty upon his shoulders, beside something else that he is obliged to the *Earl of Southesk* for, which I shall not mention, would have taken so many bold, wide, and illegal steps for the supplanting our Religion and Laws, and for the introduction and establishment of *Papery* and *Tyranny*, and this not only to the losing and disobliging his former *Votaries* and *Partizans*, but to the strange alarming and disgusting most persons of honor, quality, and interest in the three Kingdoms, were he not beside the being under the sway of his own *Bigottry*, and the strong ballance of a large measure of ill nature, bound by ties of *implicit* obedience to the Commands of that extravagant

gane and furious *Society*, to the promoting of whose passions and malice, rather than his own safety and glory, or the lasting benefit of the *Roman Catholics* themselves, the whole course of his Government hitherto seems to have been shapen and adapted. The occasion and subject of the late contest between *him* and the *Pope*, which hath made so great a noise not only at *Rome*, but thro all *Europe*, may serve to convince us both of the Extraordinary zeal *he* hath for the *Society*, and of the transcendent power they have over him, and that 'tis no wonder *he* should exact an obedience without reserve from his Subjects in *Scotland*, seeing *he* himself yields an obedience without reserve to the *Jesuits*. 'Tis known, how that by the Rules of their Institution no *Jesuite* is capable of the Myter, and that if the Ambition of any of them should tempt him to seek or accept the dignity of a *Prelate*, he must for being capacitated thereunto, renounce his Membership in the Order. Yet so great is His Majesties passion for the Honor and Grandure of the *Society*, and such is their domination and absolute power over *him*, that no less will serve *him*, neither would they allow *him* to insist upon less, than that the *Pope* should dispense with *Father Peters* being made a *Bishop*, without his ceasing to be a *Jesuite*, or the being transplanted into another Order. And this the old Gentleman at *Rome* hath been forced at last to comply with, and to grant a Dispensation whereby *Father Peters* shall be capable of the *Prelature*, notwithstanding his remaining in the *Ignatian Order*, the *Jesuits* thro their Authority over the King not suffering *him* to recede from his demand, and His Majesties zeal for the *Society* not permitting him to comply either with the prayers, or the Conscience and Honour of the Supreme Pontiff.

Not only the Kings unthankfulness unto, but his illegal proceedings against, and his arbitrary invading the Rights of those who stood by *him* in all his dangers and difficulties, and who were the Instruments of preventing his exclusion from the Crown,

and the Chief means, both of his advancement to the Throne, and his being kept in are so many new evidences of the ill will *he* bears to all Protestants, and what they are to dread from *him* as occasions are admitted of injuring and oppressing them: as may serve to convince all impartial and thinking people, that his Popish malice to *Religion* is too strong for all principles of Honor and Gratitude, and able to cancel the Obligations, which Friendship for his person and service to his interest, may be supposed to have laid *him* under to any heretofore. Had it not been for many of the *Church of England*, who stood up with a zeal and vigour for preserving the succession in the right line, beyond what *Religion*, conscience, Reason, or Interest could conduct them unto, *he* had never been able to have out-wrestled the endeavours of the Parliaments for excluding him from the Imperial Crown of England: and had it not been for their abetting and standing by with their swords in their hands upon the Duke of Monmouth's descent into the Kingdom anno 1685. *he* could nothave avoided the being driven from the Throne, and thus having the Scepter wrested out of his hands. Whosoever had the advantage of knowing the temper and genius of the late King, and how affray'd he was of embarking into anything that might import a visible hazard to the peace of his Government, and drawn after it a general disgust of his person; would be soon satisfied that if all his Protestant Subjects had united in their desires; and concurred in their endeavours; to have had the Duke of York debarred from the Crown, that his late Majesty would not have overlooked the complying with it, and thus his Love to his dear Brother, would have given way to the apprehension and fear of forfeiting a love for himself in the hearts of his people, especially when what was required of him, was not an invasion upon the fundamentals of the constitution of the English Monarchy nor dissonant from the practice of the Nation in many repeated in-

nces. Nor can there be a greater evidence of the present *Kings* ill nature, Romish *Bitory*, and prodigious ingratitude, as well of the design he is carrying on against our *igion* and *Laws*, than his carriage and behaviour towards the *Church of England*; tho cannot but acknowledg it a righteous judgment upon them from God, and a just punishment for their being not only so unconcerned for the preservation of our Religion and liberties in avoiding to close with the only methods that were adapted thereto, but for being so passionate and indolent to hasten the loss of them throputting the Government into ones hands, who (as they might have foreseen) would be so to make a sacrifice of them to his beloved *Papery*, and to his inordinate lust after spotical and arbitrary power. And as the only example bearing any affinity to it, is that of *Louis* the 14th, who in recompence to his *Protestant* Subjects for maintaining him on the Throne, when the late *Prince of Connaught* by *Papists* would have wrested the Crown from him, hath treated them with Barbarity, whereof that of *Antiochus* towards the *Jews*, and that of *Diocletian* and *Maximian* towards the *primitive Christians* are but scanty and imperfect draughts; so we want nothing for compleating the parallel between *England* and *France* but a little more time and a fortunate opportunity, and then the deluded *Church men* will find that *under Peters* is no less skilful at *Whitehall* for transforming their acts of loyalty and merit towards the *King* into crimes and motives for their ruin, than *Pere de la Chaise* hath shewn himself at *Versailles*, where by an Art peculiar to the *Jesuites*, he hath improved the loyalty and zeal of the *Reformed in France* for the house of *Bourbon*, into a reason of alienating that monarch from them, and into a ground of destroying that dutiful and obedient people. It will not be amiss to call over some of his *Majesties* proceedings towards the *Church of England*, that from what hath been already seen and felt, both they and all *English Protestants* may the better know what

they are to expect and look for hereafter. Tho it be a method very unbecoming a *Prince*, yet it shews a great deal of spleen, to turn the former persecution of *Dissenters* so maliciously upon the *Prelatical* and conforming *Clergy*, as his *Majesty* doth in his letter to *Mr. Alsop* in stiling them a party of *Protestants*, who think the only way to advance their Church; is by undoing those Churches of *Christians* that differ from them in smaller matters. Whereas the severity that the *Fanatics* met with, had much of its Original at Court, where it was formed and designed upon motives of *Papery* and *Arbitrariness*; and the resentment and revengful humour of some of the old *Prelates* and other Church men that had suffered in the late times was only laid hold of, the better to justify and improve it. And tho it be too true that many of the dignified Rank, as well as of the little *Levites* were both extremely fond of it, and contentiously pleaded for it; yet it is as true that most of them did it not upon principles of judgment and conscience, but upon inducements of retaliation for conceived injuries, and upon a belief of its being the most compendious method to the next preferment and benefice, and the fairest way of standing recommended to the favour of the two *Royal Brothers*. Nor is it unworthy of observation, that some of the most virulent writers against liberty of conscience, and others of the most fierce Instigators to the persecuting *Dissenters*, among whom we may reckon *Parker Bishop of Oxford* and *Carringtons Bishop of Chester*, are since *Addressing* for the *Declaration of Indulgence* became the means of being graciously lookt upon at *Whitehall*, turned forward promoters of it, tho their success in their *Diocesses* with their *Clergy* hath not answered their expectations and endeavours. For as these two *Myrrid* Gentlemen will fall in with and justify whatsoever the *King* hath a mind to do, if they may but keep their *Seas* and enjoy their *Revenues*, which I dare say that rather than lose they will subscribe not only to the *Tridentine* Faith but to the *Alcoran*; so it is most

most certain that they *two* as well as the Bishop of Durham have promised to turn Roman Catholics; and that as Crew hath been several times seen assisting at the celebration of the Mass, and that as Cartwright paid a particular respect to the Nuncio at his solemn Entrance at Windsor, which some Temporal Lords had so much conscience and honor as to scorn to do, so the Author of the *legal Letter* tells us that Parker not only extremely favours Popery, but that he brands in a manner all such for Atheists who continue to plead for the Protestant Religion. 'Tis an Act of the same candor and good nature in the King with the former, and another Royal effect of his Princely breeding as well as of his Gratitude; when he endeavours to cast a farther odium upon the Church of England, and to exasperate the Dissenters against her, by saying in the forementioned letter to Mr. Alsop that the reason why the Dissenters enjoyed not liberty sooner, is wholly owing to the solicitation of the Conforming Clergy; whereas many of the learned and sober men of the Church of England, could have been contented that the Nonconforming Protestants should have had liberty long ago, provided it had been granted in a legal way; and the chief executioners of severity upon them were such of all ranks, orders, and stations as the Court both set on and rewarded for it. 'Tis not their Brethrens having liberty that displeaseth modest & good men of the Church of England; but 'tis the having it in the virtue of an usurped prerogative over the Laws of the Land, and to the shaking all the legal foundations of the Protestant Religion it self in the Kingdom. And had the Declaration of Indulgence imported only an exemption of Dissenters and Papists from rigours and penalties, I know very few that would have been displeased at it; but the extending it to the removing all the Fences about the Reformed Doctrine and worship, and laying us open both to the tyranny of papists, and the being overflowed with a deluge of their superstitions and idolatries, as well as the designing it for

a means to overthrow the established Church is that which no wise Dissenter no more than a conformable man knows how to digest. I am not of Sr. Roger l'Estranges mind, yet after he hath been writing for many years against Dissenters with all the venom and malice imaginable, and to disprove the wisdom, justice, and convenience of granting them liberty, hath now the impudencete published that whatsoever he formerly wrote, bears an exact conformity to the present Resolutions of State, in that the liberty now vouchsafed is an Act of Grace issuing from the supream Magistrat, and not a claim of Rights in the people. And as to the cited expressions of the King, they are only a papal trick whereby to keep up heats and animosities among Protestants, when both the inward heats of men are much allay'd, and the external Provocations to them are wholly removed, and they are merely Jesuitick methods by which our hatred of one another may be maintained, tho the Laws enabling one party to persecute the other, which was the chief spring of all our mutual rancour and bitterness, be suspended. It would be the sport and glory of the Ignatian Order, to be able to make the disabling of penal Laws as effectual to the supporting differences among Protestants, as the Enacting and rigorous execution of them was to the first raising, and the continuing them afterwards for many years. And if the foregoing Topicks can furnish the King arguments whereby to reproach the Church of England, when he thinks it seasonable and for the interest of Rome to be angry with them; I dare affirm he will never want pretences of being discontented with & of aspersing Fanatics, when he finds the doing so, to be for the service of the papal cause. And if the forementioned instances of his Majesties behaviour to the Church of England to which he stands so superlatively obliged, be neither Testimonies of his ingenuity, evidences of his Gratitude, nor effects of common, much less Royal justice; yet what remains to be estimated, do's carry more visible marks of his

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and design both against the *le-*
established Church and our Religion. For
 being satisfied with the *suspension* of all
Laws, by which *Protestants* and they
 the national *Communion* might seem to be
injurious to Papists in their persons and *E-*
states, such as the *Laws* which make those,
 who shall be found to have taken *Orders* in
 the *Church of Rome*, obnoxious to death, or
 lose other *Statutes* by which the *King* hath
 power & Authority for levying *two thirds* of
 their *Estates* that shall be convicted of *Recu-*
sancy; but by an usurped prerogative and an
Absolute power he is pleased to *suspend* all
 the *Laws* by which they were only disabled
 from hurting us, thro standing precluded
 from places of power and trust in the *Gov-*
ernment. So that the whole security we
 have in time to come for our *Religion*, de-
 pends upon the temperate disposition and
 good nature of those *Roman Catholics* that
 shall be advanced to *Offices* and *Empley-*
ments, and does no longer bear upon the
 protection and support of the *Law*; and I
 think we have not had that experience of
 grace and favour from *Papists*, as may give us
 just confidence of fair and candid treatment
 from them for the future. Now that we may
 be the better convinced, how little security
 we have from his *Majesties* promise in his *De-*
claration, of his protecting the *Arch Bishops*,
Bishops and *Clergy*, and all other his subjects of the
Church of England, in the free exercise of their
Religion as by *Law* established, and in the quiet
 and full enjoyment of their possessions, without any
 molestation or disturbance whatsoever, which is
 all the *Tenour* that is left us; 'tis not unworthy
 of observation how that beside the suspending
 the *Bishop of London* ab *Officio*, and the *Vice*
Chancellor of Cambrid both ab *Officio* and *Re-*
cessitio, and this not only for *Actions* which
 the *Laws* of *God* and the *Kingdom* make their
 duty, but thro a sentence inflicted upon them
 by no legal *Cours* of *Judicature*, but by five or
 six mercenary persons supported by a *Tyran-*
nous and *Arbitrary* Commission, his *Majesty*
 in his *Proclamation* for *Toleration* in *Scotland*,
 bearing date the 12. of *February*, doth among

many other *Laws*, *cast*, *disable* and *disperse*
 with the *Law* enjoining the *Scott Test*, tho it
 was not only enacted by himself while he re-
 presented his Brother as his high *Commissioner*;
 but hath been confirmed by him in *Parliament*
 since he came to the *Crown*. Surely it is as
 easie to depart from a *promise* made in a *De-*
claration, as 'tis to absolve and discharge
 himself from the obligation of a *Law* which
 he first concurred to the enacting of, and
 gave the creating *Fiat* unto as the late *King's*
Commissioner, and hath since ratified in
Parliament after he was come to the
Throne. As there is no more infidelity,
 dishonor and injustice; so there is less of ab-
 solute power and illegality, in doing the one
 than the other. Nor is it possible for a ratio-
 nal man to place a confidence in his *Majesties*
Royal word for the protection of our *Religion*,
 and the *Church of England* men's enjoying their
 possessions; seeing he hath not only departed
 from his *promise* made to the *Council* immedi-
 ately after his *Brothers* death, but hath violated
 his *Faith* given to the *Parliament* of *England*
 at their first *Session*, which we might have
 thought would have been the more sacred and
 binding, by reason of the grandure, state
 and quality of the Assembly to which it was
 pledged.

If we consider how much *protestants* suffe-
 red, what number of them was burnt at the
 stake as well as murdered in Goals, beside the
 vast multitudes, who to avoid the rage and
 power of their Enemies, were forced to
 abandon their *Country* and seek for shelter in
 forraign parts, and what endeavours of all
 kinds were used for the Extirpation of our
Religion under *Queen Mary*; we may gather
 and learn from thence what is to be dreaded
 from *James* the II. who is the next *papist*
Prince to her that since the *Reformation* hath
 sat on the *Throne* of *England*. For tho there
 be many things that administer grounds of
 hope; that the *Papists* will not find it so easie
 a matter to bring us in *schools* to the stake, nor
 of that quick and easie dispatch to suppress the
protestants *Religion*, and let up *Popery*, at this
 time as they found it then; yer every thing
 that

that occurs to our thoughts, or that can affect our understandings, serves not only to persuade us into a belief that they will set upon and endeavour it, but to work us up to an assurance that his Majesty would take it for a diminution of his glory, as well as reflection upon his zeal for the Church of Rome, not to attempt what a woman had both the courage to undertake, and the fortune to go thro with. And there is withal a concurrence of so many things both abroad and at home at this juncture, which if laid in the ballance with the motives to our hope of the *papists* milcarrying, may justly raise our fears of their prospering to a very sad and uncomfortable height. Whosoever shall compare these two Princes together, will find that there was less danger to be apprehended from *Mary*, and that not only upon the score of her Sex, but by reason of a certain gentleness and goodness of nature which all *Historians* of judgment and credit ascribe unto her; than is to be expected from the present King, in whom a sourness of temper, fierceness of disposition, and pride joined with a péevishness of humour not to bear the having his will disputed or controlled, are the principal ingredients into his Constitution; and which are all strangely heightened and enflamed by contracted distempers of Body, and thro furious principles of mind which he hath imbib'd from the *Iesuites*, who of all men carry the obligations arising from the *Doctrines* of the *papish Religion* to the most outrageous and inhumane excesses. Nor can I forbear to add, that whereas the cruelty which that *Princess* was hurried into, even to the making her Cities common shambles, and her streets Theatres of murder for innocent persons, for which she became hated while she lived, and her memory is rendred infamous to all Generations that come after, was wholly and entirely owing to her *Religion*, which not only proclaims it lawful, but a necessary duty of Christianity, and an act meriting a peculiar Crown of Glory in heaven, to destroy *Hereticks*; 'tis to be feared there will be found in the present King a spice of revenge against

us as we are *Englishmen*, as well as a measure heap't up and running over of furious zeal against us as we are *Protestants*. The wrath he bears unto us for our departure from the Communion of the *Romish Church*, and our rebellion against the triple Crown, the war wherein many of the Kingdom were engaged against his Father, and the issue of it in the execution of that Monarch, is what he hath been heard to say, *that he hopes to revenge upon the Nation*. And all that the City of London underwent thro that dreadful conflagration 1666, of which he was the great Author and Promoter, as well as the Rescuer and Protector of the *Varlets* that were apprehended in their spreading and carrying on the fire, is but earnest in respect of what is designed farther to be payd them, for the having been the great supporters of that war, both by continued *Recruits* of men, and repeated *Supplies* of treasure. Tho it was *Queen Mary's* misfortune, and proved the misery of *Protestants*, that she was under the influence of *papish Bishops*, and of *Religious* of several Orders, by whom she was whetted on and provoked to those barbarities where-with her Reign is stained and reproached; yet she had no *Iesuites* about her, to whom all the other Orders are but *puppies* in the arts of wheedling and frightening *Princes* forward to cruelty. The Society being then but in its infancy, and the distance between its Institution, which was in the year 1540, and the time of her coming to the Crown, which was anno 1553. not affording season enough for their spreading so far abroad as they have since done, nor for the perfecting themselves to that degree in the methods of butchery, and in the *Topicks* whereby to delude *Monarchs*, to serve and promote their sanguinary passions, as they have in process of time attained unto. Nor have the *Protestants* now any security for their Religion, whereby it or themselves may be preserved from the attempts of his Majesty for the extirpation of both, but what our Predecessors in the same faith had in the like kind, tho not to the same measure and degree, when *Queen Mary* arrived at the Throne. For tho our Religion was of late

enced about with more *Laws*, and we had *Royal promises* oftner repeated for the having preserved, and our selves protected in the Profession of it; yet it is certain that it had not only received a legal establishment under *King Edward the VI.*, but had the *Royal Faith* of *Queen Mary* laid to pledge in a *promise* made to the men of *Suffolk*, that nothing should be done towards its subversion, or whereby they might be hindred in the free exercise of it. But as neither *Law* nor *promise* could prove restraints upon *Mary*, to hinder her from *subverting Religion*, and *burning Protestants*; so the obligation of gratitude that she was under to the men of *Suffolk* for their coming in so seasonably to her assistance against the *Duke of Northumberland*, who was in the field with an Army in the name of the *lady Jean Gray*, whom the *Council* had proclaimed *Queen*, could not excuse them from sharing in the severity that others met with, it being observed that more of that *County* were burnt for Religion, than of any other *Shire* in England. And 'tis greatly to be feared, that this piece of her example, will not escape being conformed unto by the *King* in his carriage towards those that eminently served him, as well as all the rest of it in his behaviour towards *Protestants* in general. Nor is it possible to conceive that the *Papists* living at that ease and quietness which they did under his late Majesty, of whose being of their Religion they were not ignorant, as appears by the proofs they have wouchsaf'd the world of it since his death, would have been in so many plots for destroying him, and at last have hastned him to his *Fathers*, as can be demonstrated whensoever it is seasonable, had they not been assured of more to be attempted by his Successor for the extirpation of *Protestants*, than *Charles* could be wrought up unto, or prevailed upon to expose his person and Crown to the danger and hazard of. For as 'tis not merely a *Princes* being a *Papist*, and mild, gentle, and favorable to *Catholicks*, that will content the fiery zealots of the *Roman Clergy* and the *Regular Orders*, but he must both gratify their ambition

in exalting them to a condition above all others, and serve their inhuman lusts and brutal passions, in not suffering any to live in his Dominions that will not renounce the *Northern Heresie*; so it is not more incredible that they should dispatch a *Prince* by an infusion in a cup of *Tea* or *Chocolate*, whom tho they knew to be a *Papist* yet they found too cold & slow in promoting their designs; than that they should have murder'd another by a consecrated dagger in the hand of *Ravaillac*, the one being both more easie to be detected, and likelier to derive an universal hatred and revenge upon them than the other. And as the *Kings* being conscious of that *paricide* committed upon his *Brother*, plainly tells us that there is nothing so abominable and Barbarous, which he hath not a conscience that will swallow and digest, so the promotion of the *Catholick* cause being the motive to that horrid crime, we may be sure that what is hitherto done in favour of *Papists*, falls much short of what is intended, there being something more meritorious than all this amounts unto, needful to atone for so barbarous a villany, which can be nothing else but the extirpating the *protestant Religion* out of the three Kingdoms. Nor is it probable that the present *King*, who is represented for a person ambitious of Glory, would lose the opportunities, wherewith the present posture of affairs in the world presents him, of being the *Umpire* and *Arbiter* of Christendom, and of giving check to the grandure and usurpations of a neighbouring *Monarch*, to whom all Europe is in danger of becoming enslaved; if he were not swallowed up in the thoughts of a conquest over the Consciences, Laws, and liberties of his own people, and of subjugating his Dominions to the Sea of *Rome*, and had he not hopes and assurances of aid and assistance therein from that *Monarch*, as he is emboldned and encouraged thereunto by his pattern and example.

What the *Papists* have all along been endeavouring for the subversion of our Religion during and under the *Reigns* of *Protestants*.
Prin-

Princes, may yet farther inform and confirm us, what they will infallibly attempt upon their having gotten one into the *Throne*, who is not only in all things of their own faith, but of an humour agreeable unto their desires, and of a temper every way suited and adapted to their designs. Tho' the *protestant Religion* had obtained some entrance into several *States* and Kingdoms, and had made some considerable spread in *Europe*, before it came to be generally received, and established upon foundations of *Law* in *England*; yet they of other Countries, were little able to defend themselves from the power and malice of the *Church of Rome*, and of *Popish Princes*, and many of them were very unsuccessful in endeavours of that nature, till *England*, in *Queen Elizabeths* time by espousing their cause and undertaking their Quarrel, not only wrought out their safety but made them flourish. This the *Court of Rome* and the *Priests* grew immediately sensible of, and have therefore moulded all their Counsels ever since against *England*, as being both the *Bulwark* of the *protestant Religion*, and the *Ballance* of *Europe*. All the late attempts for the *extirpation* of the *protestant Religion* in *France* and elsewhere, are much to be ascribed to the confidence the *Papists* had in the late *King* and his *Brother* of their giving no discouragement nor obstruction to so holy a design; and thereupon as the first *Edicts* for infringing the liberty, and weakning and oppressing *Protestants* in *France*, and the *persecution* in *Hungary*, commenced and bore date with the Restoration of the *Royal Family*, and multiplied, and encreased from year to year as they grew into farther assurance of the *Royal Brothers* approving as well as conniving at what was done; so that for the *abolition* of the *Edict of Nantz* and the total suppression of the *Reformed Religion* in *France*, was emitted upon his present *Majesties* being exalted to the *Throne*, and the encouragement he gave them to a procedure, which as he now justifies he will hereafter imitate. It were to suppose *English Protestants* exceedingly unacquainted with the Hi-

story of their own Nation, to give a long deduction of what the *Papists* have attempted for the *extirpation* of our *Religion*, while we had *Princes* on the *Throne* whose belief and principles in Christianity, led them to assert and defend the *Reformation*, and who had courage as well as integrity to punish those that conspired against it. Their many Conjurations against *Queen Elizabeths* person, and their repeated endeavours of bringing in *Forrainers*, and of betraying the Nation to the *Spaniards*, who were to convert the *Kingdom* as they had done the *West-Indies* by killing the Inhabitants, are sufficiently known to all who have allowed themselves leisure to read, or who have been careful to remember what they have been often told by those that have inspected the *Memoirs* of those times. The *Gunpowder plot* with the motives unto it, and the extent of the mischief it was shapen for, together with the insurrection they were prepared for in case it had succeeded, and the forraign aid they had been soliciting and were promised, and all for the *extirpation* of *English Hereticks*, are things so modern, and which we have had so many times related to us by our Fathers, that it is enough barely to intimate them. The *Irish Massacre* in which above two hundred thousand were murdered in cold blood, and to which there was no provocation but that of baird to our *Religion*, and furious zeal to extirpate *Hereticks*, ought at this time to be more particularly reflected upon, as that which gives us a true scheme of the manner of the *Church of Rome* in converting *Protestant* Kingdoms, and being the Copy they have a mind to write after, and that in such Characters and lines of blood as may be sure to answer the *Original*. At the season when they both entered upon and executed that hellish conjuration, they were in a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the private exercise of their *Religion*, yea had many publick meeting-places, thro the means of the *Queen* and many great friends which they had at *Court*, and were neither disturbed for not coming to Church, nor suffered any severities upon

the account of their profession ; but that could not satisfy, nor will any thing else unless they may be allowed to cut the throats, or make bonfires, of all that will not join with them in a blind obedience to the *Sea of Rome*, and of worshipping *St. Patrick*. The little harsh usarges which the *Papists* at any time met with there or in *England*, they derived them upon themselves by their Crimes against the *State*, and for their Conspiracies against our *Princes* and their *Protestant Subjects*. For till the *Pope* had taken upon him to depose *Queen Elizabeth*, and absolve her *Subjects* from their *Allegiance*, and till the *Papists* had so far approved that act of his holiness as to raise *Rebellions* at home and enter into treasonable confederacies abroad, there were no *Laws* that could be styled severe enacted in *England* against *Papists*, and the making of them was the result of necessity in order to preserve ourselves, and not from an Inclination to hurt any for matters of meer *Religion*. Such hath always been the moderation of our *Rulers*, and so powerful are the incitements to lenity which the generality of *Protestants* through the influence and impression of their *Religion*, especially they of a more generous education, have been under towards those of the *Roman Communion*, that nothing but their unwearied restlessness to disturb the *Government* and destroy *Protestants*, hath been the cause either of enacting those *Laws* against them that are styled rigorous, or of their having been at any time put into execution. And notwithstanding that some such *Laws* were enacted as might appear to favour of severity, yet could they have but submitted to have dwelt peaceably in the land, they would have found that their meer belief and the private practice of their worship, would not have much prejudiced or endangered them, and that tho the *Laws* had been continued unrepealed, yet it was only as a *Hedge* about us for our protection, and as *Bonds* of obligation upon them to their good behaviour. To which may be added,

that more *Protestants* have suffered in one year, by the *Laws* made against *Dissenters*, and to the utmost height of the penalties which the violation of them imported, and that by the instigation of *Papists* and their influence over the late *King* and his present Majesty, than there have *Papists* from the beginning of *Queen Elizabeth's* Reign to this very day, tho there was a difference in the punishments they underwent. However we may from their many and repeated attempts against us, while we had *Princes* that both would and could chasten their insolencies, and inflict upon them what the *Law* made them obnoxious unto for their outrages, gather and conclude what we are now to expect, upon their having obtained a *King* imbued with all the persecuting and bloody principles of *Papery*, and perfectly baptised into all the *Doctrines* of the *Councils of Lateran* and *Constance*. And it may strengthen our faith as well as increase our fear, of what is purposed against and impends over us, in that they cannot but think that the suffering our *Religion* to remain in a condition to be at any time hereafter the *Religion* of the *State*, and of the universality of the people, may not only prove a means of retrieving *Protestancy* in *France*, and of assisting to revenge the barbarities perpetrated there upon a great and innocent people, but may leave the *Roman Catholics* in *England* exposed to the resentment of the *Kingdom*, for what they have so foolishly and impudently acted both against our *Civil Rights*, and *Established Religion*, since *James the II.* came to the Crown ; and may also upon the *Government's* falling into good hands, and *Magistrates* coming to understand their true Interest, which is for an *English Prince* to make himself the Head of the *Protestant cause* and to espouse their quarrel in all places, give such a Revolution in *Europe* as will not only check the present Career of *Rome*, but cause them repent the method's in which they have been engaged. These things we may be sure the *Papists* are aware of, and that having proceeded so far, they have nothing

nothing left for their security from punishments because of crimes committed, but to put us out of all capacity of doing our selves Right and them justice; and he must be **Call** who do's not know into what that must necessarily hurry them.

It being then as evident as a matter of this nature is capable of, what we are to expect and dread from the *King* both as to our *Religion* and *Laws*; we may do more than presume that the late *Declaration for liberty of conscience*, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration*, are not intended and designed for the benefit and advantage of the *Reformed Religion*, and that whatsoever motives have influenced to the granting and emitting of them, they do not in the least slow or proceed from any kindness and goodwill to *Protestant Dissenters*. And tho many of those weak and easie people may flatter themselves with a belief of an interest in the *Kings* favour, and suffer others to delude them into a persuasion of his bearing a gracious respect towards them; yet it is certain, that they are people in the world whom he most hates, and who when things are ripe for it, and that he hath abused their credulity into a serving his Ends as far as they can be prevailed upon, and as long as the present *Juggle* can be of any advantage for promoting the *papal cause*, will be sure not only to have an equal share in his displeasure with their *Brethren* of the *Church of England*, but will be made to drink deepest in the cup of fury and wrath that is mingling and preparing for all *Protestants*. No provocation from their present behaviour, tho it is such as might warm a person of very cool temper, much less offences of another complexion administered by any of them, shall ever tempt me to say they deserve it, or cause me to ravel into their former and past carriages, so as to fasten a blott or imputation upon the party or body of them, whatsoever I may be forced to do as to particular persons among them. For as to the generality, I do believe them to be as honest, industrious, useful, and vertuous a people (tho many of them

be none of the wisest nor of the greatest respect) as any party of men in the Kingdom and that whereinsoever their carriage (even abstracting from their differences with the fellow Protestants in matters of Religion, hath varied from that of other Subjects they have been in the Right, and have acted most agreeably to the interest & safety of the Kingdom. But it can be no reflection upon them, to recall into their memories, that the whole tenor of the *Kings* actings towards them both when *Duke of York* and since he came to the *Crown*, hath been such a might render it beyond dispute, that they are so far from having any singular room in *his* favour, that he bears them neither pity nor compassion, but that they are the objects of his unchangeable indignation. For not to mention how the persecutions, that were observed alway's to relent both upon *his* being at any distance from the *late King* and upon the abatement of *his* influence at any time into Counsels, were constantly revived upon *his* return to *Court*, and were carried on in degrees of severity proportionable to the figure he made at *Whitehall* and *his Brothers* disposedness and inclination to hearken to him; surely their memories cannot be so weak and untenacious, but they must remember how their sufferings were never greater, nor the *Laws* executed with more severity upon them, than since *his Majesty* came to ascend the *Throne*. As it is no many years since he said publicly in *Scotland*, that it were well if all that part of the Kingdom, (which is above half of the Nation) where the Dissenters were known to be most numerous, were turned into a burning field, so none were favoured and promoted either there or in *England*, but such as were taken to be the most fierce and violent of others against *Fenatics*. Nor were we preferred either in *Church* or *State* for the learning, vertu' or merit, but for the passionate heats and brutal rigours of *Dissenters*. And whereas the *Papists* from the very first day of his arrival at the Government had beside many other marks of *his Grace*

Special Testimony of it, of not having *penal Statutes* to which they stood liable in execution against them; all the *Laws* which the *Dissenters* were obnoxious, were by his Majesties Orders to the *Judges*, *Officers of the peace*, and all other *Officers* civil and Ecclesiastical most unmercifully executed. Nor was there the least talk of lenity

Dissenters, till the *King* found that he could not compass his Ends by the *Church of England*, and prevail upon the *Parliament* to Repealing the *Tests*, and cancelling the other *Laws* in force against *Papists*, which if they could have been wrought over unto, the *Fanaticks* would not only have been left titleless, and continued in the hands of the various *Church-men* to exercise their spleen upon, but would have been surrendered as a sacrifice to new flames of wrath, if they of the prelatial Communion had retained their wonted animosity, and thought it for their interest to exert it, either in the old or fresh method's. But that project not succeeding, his Majesty is forced to shift hands, and to use the pretence of extending compassion to *Dissenting Protestants*, that he may be more plausibly and with the less hazard, suspend and disable the *Laws* against *Papists*, and make way for their admission into all offices *Civil* and *Military*, which is the first step, and all that he is yet in a condition to make, for the subversion of our Religion. And all the celebrated kindness to *Fanaticks*, is only to use them as the *Cat's* paw, for pulling the Chestnut out of the fire to the *Monkey*, and to make them *stales* under whose shroud and covert, the *Church of Rome* may undermine and subvert all the *legal* foundations of our Religion, which to suffer themselves to be instrumental in, will not in the issue turn to the commendation of the *Dissenters* wisdom or their honesty. Nor is there more truth in the *Kings* declaring it to have been his constant opinion, that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of meer Religion, than there is of justice in that malicious insinuation, (in his Letter to Mr. Alsop) against the *Church of England*, that

should he see cause to change his Religion, he should never be of that party of *Protestants*, who think the only way to advance their Church, is by undoing those Churches of Christians that differ from them in smaller matters: forasmuch as he is in the meantime a member of the most persecuting and bloody Society, that ever was clothed with the name of a Church, and whose cruelty towards *Protestants* he is careful not to arraign, by fastning his offence at severity upon differences in smaller matters, which he knows that those between *Rome* and us are not, nor so accounted of by any of the *papal* Fellowship. It were to be wished that the *Dissenters* would reflect and consider, how when the late *King* had emitted a Declaration of Indulgence anno 1672. upon pretended motives of tenderness and compassion to his *Protestant Subjects*, but in truth to keep all quiet at home, when in conjunction with *France* he was engaging in an unjust war against a *Reformed State* abroad, and in order to steal a liberty for the *Papists* to practice their Idolatries, without incurring a suspicion himself of being of the *Romish* Religion, and in hope to wind up the prerogative to a paramount power over the law; and how when the *Parliament* condemned the illegality of it, and would have the Declaration recalled, all his Kindness to *Dissenters* not only immediately vanished, but turned into that Rage and fury, that tho both that *Parliament* addressed for some favour to be shew'd them, and another voted it a betraying of the *Protestant Religion* to continue the execution of the *penal laws* upon them, yet instead of their having any mercy or moderation exercised towards them, they were thrown into a *Furnace* made seven times hotter, than that wherein they had been scorched before. And without pretending to be a Prophet, I dare prognosticate and foretel, that whensoever the present *King* hath compassed the Ends, unto which this Declaration is designed to be subservient, namely the placing the *Papists* both in the open exercise of their Religion, and in all publick Offices and Trusts, and the getting a power to be acknowledged vested in him

over the *Laws*; that then instead of the still voice calmly whispered from *White-hall*, they will both hear and feel the blasts of a mighty rushing wind, and that upon pretended occasions arising from the abuse of this *Indulgence*, or for some alleged crimes wherein they and all other *Protestants* are to be involved; (tho their supineness and excess of Loyalty continue to be their greatest offences) this *liberty* will not only be withdrawn and the old *Church of England* severities revived, but some of the new *à la mode à France* treatments come upon the stage, and be pursued against them, and all other perverse and obdurate *British Hereticks*.

The *Declaration for liberty of Conscience*, being injurious to the *Church of England*, and not proceeding from any inward and real good will to the *Dissenters*; it will be worth our pains to inquire into and make a more ample deduction of the Reasons upon which it was granted, that the grounds of emitting it being laid under every man's view, they who have *Addressed* may come to be ashamed of their simplicity and folly, they who have not may be farther confirmed both of the unlawfulness and inconveniency of doing it, and that all who preserve any regard to the *protestant Religion* and the *Laws of England*, may be quickened to the use of all legal and due means for preventing the mischievous effects, which it is shapen for, and which the *Papists* do promise themselves from it. The motives upon which his Majesty published the *Declaration* may be reduced to three, of which as I have already made some mention, so I shall now place every one of them in its several and proper light, and give such proofs and evidence of their being the great and sole inducements for the emitting of it, that no rational man shall be able henceforth to make a doubt of it. The first, is the Kings winding himself into a *Supremacy* and *Absoluteness* over the *Law*, and the getting it acknowledged, and calmly submitted unto and acquiesced in by the *Subjects*. The *Monarchies* being legal

and not *Despotic*, bounded and regulated by *Laws*, and not to be exercised according to *meer will* and *pleasure*, was that which he could not digest the thought of when a *Subject*, and had been heart to say that he had rather *Reign a day in the absoluteness that the French King doth, than an Age tied up and restrained by Rules as his Brother doth*. And therefore to persuade the *Prince of Orange* to approve what He had done in *dispensing* with the *Laws*; and to obtain Him and the *Princes* to join with his Majesty and to employ their interest in the Kingdom for the *Repealing* the *Test Acts*, and the many other *Statutes* made against *Roman Catholics*, he used this Argument in a Message he sent to their Royal Highnesses upon that errand, that the getting it done would be greatly to the advantage and for the increase of the *prerogative*; but this these two noble *Princes* of whose ascent to the Throne all *Protestants* have so near and comfortable prospect, were too generous as well as wise to be wheedled with, as knowing that the *Authority* of the *Kings* and *Queens* of England is great enough by the Rule of the *Constitution*, without grasping at a new *prerogative* power, which as the *Laws* have not vested in them, so it would be of no use but to inable them to do hurt. And indeed it is more necessary both for the honor and safety of the *Monarch*, and for the freedom and security of the people that the *prerogative* should be confined within its ancient and legal Channels, than be left to that illimited and unbounded latitude, which the late King and his present Majesty have endeavoured to advance and screw it up unto. That both the *Declaration for liberty of Conscience* in England, and the *Proclamation for Toleration* in Scotland, are calculated for raising the *Sovereign Authority* to a transcendent Power over the *Laws* of the two Kingdoms, may be demonstrated from the *Persons* themselves, which lay the *Dispensing Power* before us in terms that import no less than his Majesties standing free and absol

Solved from all ties and restraints, and being clothed with a Right of doing whatsoever he will. For if the Stile of *Royal Pleasure* to suspend the execution of such and such *Laws*, and to forbid such and such *Oaths* to be required to be taken, and this in the virtu' of no *Authority* declared by the *Laws* to be resident in his Majesty, but in the virtu' of a certain vagrant and indeterminate thing called *Royal prerogative*, as the power exercised in the *English Declaration* is worded and expressed, be not enough to enlighten us sufficiently in the matter before us; the Stile of *Absolute Power* which all the Subjects are to obey without reserve, whereby the King is pleased to chalk before us the *Authority* exerted in the *Scotts Proclamation*, for the *stopping, disabling, and dispensing* with such and such *Laws* as are here referred unto, and for the granting of *toleration* with the other *liberties, immunities, and Rights* there mentioned, is more than sufficient to set the point we are discoursing beyond all possibility of rational control. As 'tis one and the same Kind of *Authority* that is claimed over the *Laws and Subjects of both Kingdoms*, tho' for some certain reasons it be more modestly designed and expressed in the *Declaration for a Liberty in England*, than it is in the *Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland*; so the utmost that the *Czar of Mosco*, the great *Mohall*, or the *Turkish Sultan* ever challenged over their respective Dominions, amounts only to an *Absolute Power*, which the King both owns the Exertion of, and makes it the fountain of all the *Royal Acts* exercised in the forementioned *Papers*. And as the improving this challenged *Absolute Power* into an obligation upon the Subjects to obey his Majesty without reserve, is a paraphrase upon *Despotical Dominion*, and an advancing it to a pitch, above what any of the ancient or modern *Tyrants* ever dream't of, and beyond what the most servile part of Mankind was ever acquainted with till the present *French King* gave an instance of it, in making his *own will and pleasure* to be the ground and

argument upon which his *Reformed Subjects* were to renounce their *Religion*, and to turn *Roman Catholics*; so it is worth considering whether His Maj. who glories to imitate that *forraign Monarch*, may not in a little time make the like application of this *Absolute power*, which his Subjects are bound to obey without Reserve; and whether in that case, they who have Addressed to thank him for his *Declaration*, and thereby justified the Claim of this *Absolute power*, being that upon which the *Declaration* is superfructed, and from which it emergeth, can avoid paying the Obedience that is demanded as a *Duty* in the Subject inseparably annexed thereunto. That which more confirms us, that the *English Declaration* and the *Scotts Proclamation*, are not only designed for the obtaining from the Subjects an acknowledgment of an *Absolute power* vested in the King, but that no less than the *Usurpation* and exercise of such a power, can warrant and support them, are the many *Laws and Rights*, which a jurisdiction is challenged over and exerted in reference unto in the *Papers* styled by the forementioned Names. All confess a *Royal prerogative* settled on the Crown, and appertaining to the *Royal Office*; nor can the *Supream Magistrature* be executed and discharged to the advantage and Safety of the *Community*, without a power affixed unto it of *superceding* the Execution of some *Laws* at certain junctures, nor without having an *Authority* over the *Rights* of particular men in some incident cases; but then the received *Customes* of the respective *Nations*, and the universal good, preservation and safety of the *People* in general, are the measures by which this prerogative in the Crown is to be regulated, and beyond which to apply or exert it, is an *Usurpation* and *Tyranny* in the Ruler. All the Power belonging to the *Kings and Queens* of *England and Scotland*, ariseth from an agreement and concession of the *People*, wherein it is stipulated what *Rights, Liberties and Priviledges* they Reserved unto themselves, and what *Authority and Jurisdiction* they delegated and

and made over unto the *Sovereign*, in order to his being in a condition to protect and defend them, and that they may the better live in Peace, Freedom, and Safety, which are the *Ends* for which they have chosen *Kings* to be over them, and for the compassing whereof they originally submitted unto, and pitched upon such a *Form of Civil Administration*. Nor are the *Opinions* of particular men of what Rank or Order soever they be, to be admitted as an exposition of the extent of this *Prerogative*, seeing they thro their dependencies upon the *King*, and their obnoxiousness to be influenced by selfish and personal *Ends*, may enlarge it beyond what is for the benefit of the *Community*; but the *immemorial* course of Administration, with the sense of the whole *Society* signified by their *Representatives* in *Parliament* upon emerging occasions, are to be taken for the sense, paraphrase, and declaration of the *Limits* of this *Royal and prerogative Power*; and for any to determine the bounds of it from the Testimonies of *Mercenary Lawyers*, or *Sycophant Clergymen*, in cases wherein the *Parliament* have by their *Votes* and *Resolutions* settled its boundaries, is a crime that deserves the severest animadversion, and which it is to be hop'd a true *English Parliament* will not let pass unpunished. Now a *Power* arising from *Royal prerogative* to suspend, and disable a great number of *Laws* at once, and they of such a nature and tendency, as the great security of the people consists in their being maintained, and which the whole *Community* represented in *Parliaments* have often disallowed and made void *Princes* meddling with, so as to interrupt their execution and course, is so far from being a *Right* inherent in the *Crown*, that the very pretending unto it, is a changing of the *Government*, and an overthrowing of the *Constitution*. For De Laudib. *rescui* say's, that *Rex Angliæ popu-*
Leg. Angl. *lum Gubernat non mera potestate*
c. 9. *Regiæ, sed politicæ; quia populus*
iis legibus gubernatur quas ipse fert;
the *King* of *England* doth not so properly Govern

by a power that is *Regal*, as by a power that is *political*, in that he is bound to Rule by the *Laws* which the people themselves chuse and Enact. And both *Bracton* and *Fleta* tell us, that *Rex Angliæ habet superiores*, *Bract. lib. 2. vix. legem per quam factus est Rex*, cap. 16. *Fleta ac Comes & Barones qui debent ei lib. 1. c. 17. frenum ponere; the King of England hath for Superiors, both the Law by which he is constituted King, and which is the measure of his Governing Power, and the Parliament which is to restrain him, if he do amiss. And thereupon we have not only that Lib. 3. other saying of Bracton, that nihil cap. 9. aliud potest Rex, nisi id solum quod jure potest; the King can do nothing, but what he can do by law: but we have that famous passage in our Parliament Rolls, non est ulla Regis prerogativa, que ex Rol. Parl. justitiâ & equitate quicquam derogat; that there is no prerogative Num. 39. belongs to the King by which he can decline from acting according to Law and justice. So careful were our Ancestors both in England and Scotland to preserve their *Laws* from being invaded and superceded by their *Kings*, that they have not only by divers *Parliamentary Votes* and *Resolutions*, and by several *Statutes*, declared all dispensations by the *King* from *Laws* and enjoined *Oaths*, to be null and void, and not admissible by the *Judges* or other *Executors* of Law and Justice; but they have often impeached, arraigned, and condemned those to one penalty or another, that have been found to have counselled and advised *Kings* to an usurpation of *Power* over the *Laws*, and to a violation of established and enacted *Rules*. It would draw this Discourse to a length beyond what is intended, should I mention the several *Laws* against *Papists* as well as against *Dissenters*, that are suspended, stopt, disabled, and dispensed with, in the two fore-mentioned *Royal Papers*, and it would be an extending it much more, should I make the several *Reflections* that the matter is capable of, and which a person of a very ordinary understanding cannot be greatly to seek for; I shall therefore only take notice of two*

three Efforts which occur there of this Royal prerogative and Absolute power, which they are very bold and ample exertions of them for the first time; so should the next exercises of them be proportionable, there will be nothing left us of the Protestants Religion, or of English Liberties, and we must be contented to be Papists and Slaves, or else stand adjudged to Tyburn and Smithfield. One is the suspending the Laws which contain the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the prohibiting that these Oaths be at any time hereafter required to be taken; by which single Exercise of Royal prerogative and Absolute power, the two Kingdoms are not only again subjected to a foreign Jurisdiction, the miseries whereof they groaned under for several Ages; but as the King is hereby deprived of the greatest security, he had from his Subjects both to himself and the Government, so the Crown is robb'd of one of its chiefest jewels, namely an Authority over all the Subjects, which was thought so essential to Sovereignty and Royal Dignity, that it was annexed to the Imperial Crown of England, & adjudged inherent in the Monarch, before the Reformed Religion came to be received & established. And it concerns their Royal Highnesses of Orange, to whom the Right of succeeding to the Crowns of Great Britain unquestionably belongs, to consider whether his Majesty may not by the same Authority, whereby he alienates and gives away so considerable and inherent a Branch of the Royal Jurisdiction, transfer the Succession it self, and dispose the Advancement of the Crown to whom he pleaseth. Nor will they about him, who thrust the last King out of the Throne to make room for his present Majesty, much scruple to put a Protestant Successor by it, if they can find another Papist as Bigoted as this to advance unto it. However were they on the Throne to morrow, here is both a Foreign Jurisdiction brought in and set up to Rival and controll theirs, and they are deprived of all means of being secured of the Loyalty and Fidelity of a great number of their Subjects. Nor will His Majesties certain knowledge and

long experience (whereof he boasts in the Scots Proclamation) that the Catholics, as it is their principle, to be good Christians, so it is to be dutiful Subjects, be enough for their Royal Highnesses to rely upon, their Religion obliging them to the contrary towards Princes, whom the Church of Rome hath adjudged to be Heretics. A second Instance wherein this pretended Royal Prerogative is exercised paramount to all Laws, and which nothing but a claim of Absolute Power in his Majesty can support, and an acknowledgment of it by the Subjects make them approve the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, and the Proclamation for Toleration; is the stopping, disabling and suspending the Statutes whereby the Tests were enacted, and thereby letting the Papists in to all Benefices, Offices, and Places of Trust, whether Civil, Military, or Ecclesiastick. I do not speak of Suspending the Execution of those Laws, whereby the being Priests, or taking Orders in the Church of Rome, or the being Reconciled to that Church, or the Papists meeting to celebrate Mass, were in one degree, or another made punishable, (tho the Kings dispensing with them by a challenged claim in the Crown be altogether illegal) for as divers of these Laws were never approved by many Protestants, so nothing would have justified the making of them, but the many Treasons and Conspiracies that they were from time to time found guilty of against the State. And as the Papists of all men have the least cause to complain of the injustice, rigour, and severity of them, considering the many Laws more cruel and sanguinary that are in Force in most Popish Countries against Protestants, and these enacted and executed merely for their Opinions and Practices in the matters of God, without their being chargeable with crimes and offences against the Civil Government under which they live, so were it necessary from principles of Religion and Policy to relieve the Roman Catholics from the forementioned Laws, yet it ought not to be done but by the Legislative Authority of the Kingdoms, and for the

King to assume a power of doing it in the virtue of a pretended prerogative, is both a high *Usurpation* over the *Laws*, and a *Violation* of his *Coronation Oath*. Nor is it any commendation either of the *humanity* of the *Papists*, or of the *meekness* and *Truth* of their *Religion*, that while they elsewhere treat those who differ from them in Faith and Worship with that Barbarity, they should so clamorously inveigh against the severities which in some Reformed States they are liable unto, and which their *Treasons* gave the rise and provocation unto at first, and have been at all times the motives to the infliction of. But they alone would have the allowance to be cruel wherein they act consonantly to their own *Tenets*; and I wish that some provision might be made for the future, for the *security* of our *Religion*, and our safety in the profession of it, without the doing any thing that may become the merciful principles of *Christianity*, or be unfutable to the meek and generous temper of the *English Nation*, and that the property of being *Sanguinary* may be left to the *Church of Rome* as its peculiar Priviledg and Glory, and as a more distinguishing Character than all the other Marks which she pretends unto. That which I am speaking of, is the *suspending* the *Execution* of those *Laws*, by which the *Government* was secured of the *Fidelity* of its *Subjects*, and by which they in whom it could not *confide* were merely shut out from places of power and trust, and were made liable to very small damages themselves, and only hindred from getting into a condition of doing mischief to us. All *Governments* have a Right to use means for their own preservation, provided they be not such as are inconsistent with the *Ends* of Government, and repugnant to the *will* and *pleasure* of the *Supream Sovereign* of mankind, and it is in the power of every *Legislative Assembly* to declare who of the *Community* shall be capable or incapable of publick Imloys, and of possessing Offices, upon which the Peace, Welfare, and Security of the whole

Politick Body does depend. Without this the *Government* could subsist, nor the *People* be in safety under it; but the *Constitution* would be in constant danger of being subverted and the Priviledges, Liberties, and Religion of the *Subjects* laid open to be overthrown. And should such a power in *Legislators*, be upon weak suspicions and ill grounded jealousies, carried at any time too far, and some prove to be debarred from *Trusts*, whose being employed would import no hazard; yet the worst of that would be only a disrespect shewn to individual persons, who might deserve more favour and esteem, but could be of no prejudice to the *Society*, there being always a sufficient number of others, fit for the discharge of all *Offices*, in whom an entire confidence may be reposed. And 'tis remarkable, that the *States General* of the *United Provinces*, who afford the greatest Liberty to all *Religions*, that any known State in *Europe* giveth; yet they suffer no *Papists* to come into places of *Autority* and *Judicature*, nor to bear any *Office* in the *Republick* that may either put them into a condition, or lay them under a temptation of attempting any thing to the *prejudice* of *Religion*, or for the betraying the *Liberty* of the *Provinces*. And as 'tis lawful for any *Government* to preclude all such persons from publick *Trusts*, of whose enmity, and ill will to the *Establishments* in Church or State, they have either a moral certainty, or just grounds of suspicion; so 'tis no less lawful to provide *Tests* for their discovery and detection, that they may not be able to mask and vizard themselves in order to getting into *Offices*, and thereupon of promoting and accomplishing their mischievous and malicious intentions. Nor is it possible in such a case, but that the *Tests* they are to be tried by, must relate to some of those principles by which they are most eminently distinguished from them of the *National Settlement*, and in reference whereunto they think it most *piacular* to dissemble their Opinion. Nor have the *Papists* cause to be offended.

at the Renouncing the Belief of Transubstantiation should be required as the distinguishing mark whereby upon their refusal, they may be discerned, when all the penalty upon their being known, is only to be excluded from a share in the Legislation, and not to be admitted to Employments of Trust and profit; seeing it hath been and still is their custom, to require the belief of the Corporal presence in the Sacraments, as that upon the not acknowledgment whereof we are to be accounted Hereticks, and to stand condemned to be burnt, which is somewhat worse than the not being allowed to sit in the two Houses of Parliament, or to be shut out from a Civil or Military Office. Neither are they required to Declare much less to Swear, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation is false, or that there is no such thing as Transubstantiation, (as is affirmed in a scurrilous Paper written against the Loyalty of the Church of England) but all that is enjoined in the Test Acts, is that, I. A. B. do declare, that I do believe that there is not any Transubstantiation in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, or in the Elements of Bread and Wine, at or after the Consecration thereof by any Person whatsoever. Tho the Parliament was willing to use all the care they could, for the discovering Papists, that the provision for our security, unto which those Acts were designed, might be the more effectual; yet they were not so void of understanding, as to prescribe a Method for it, which would have exposed them to the world for their folly. 'Tis much different to say, swear, or declare, that I do believe there is not any Transubstantiation; and the saying or declaring that there is not a Transubstantiation; the former being only expressive of what my sentiment or opinion is, and not at all affecting the Doctrine is self, to make, or unmake it, other than what it is, independently upon my judgment of it, whereas the latter does primarily Affect the Object and the determination of its existence to such a mode as I conceive it; and there are a thousand things which I can say that I do not believe, but I dare not say that they are not. Now as 'tis the dis-

puting with these Laws that argues the Kings assuming an Absolute Power; so the Addressing by way of thanks for the Declaration wherein this Power is exerted, is no less than an owning and acknowledging of it; and that it rightfully belongs to him. There is a third thing which shame or fear would not suffer them to put into the Declaration for liberty of Conscience in England, but which they have had the impudence to insert into the Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland; which as it carries Absolute Power written in forehead of it, so it is such an unpresidented exercise of Despoticalness, as hardly any of the Oriental Tyrants or even the French Leviathan would have ventured upon. For having stop'd, disabled, and suspended all Laws enjoining any Oaths, whereby our Religion was secured; and the preservation of it to us and our posterity was provided for; he imposeth a new Oath upon his Scots Subjects, whereby they are to be bound to defend and maintain Him, his Heirs and Lawful Successors in the Exercise of their Absolute Power and Authority against all deadly. The imposing an Oath upon Subjects hath been always look't upon as the highest Act of legislative Authority, in that it affects their Consciences, and requires the approbation; or disapprobation of their Minds and Judgments, in reference to whatsoever it is enjoined for; whereas a Law that affects only mens Estates may be submitted unto, tho in the mean time they think that which is exacted of them to be unreasonable and unjust. And as it concerns both the wisdom and justice of Law-givers to be very tender in Ordaining Oaths that are to be taken by Subjects, and that not only from a care that they may not prostitute the name of God to prophanation when the matter about which they are imposed, is either light and trivial, or dubious and uncertain; but because it is an exercise of jurisdiction over the Souls of men, which is more than if it were only exercised over their Goods, Bodies, and Priviledges; so never any of our Kings pretended to a Right of enjoining and requiring an Oath that was not first Enacted and specified in some Law; and it would have been

been heretofore accounted a good plea for refusing such or such an Oath, to say there was no Statute that had required it: It was one of the Articles of high Treason (and the most material) charged upon the Earl of Strafford, that being Lord Deputy of Ireland, he required an Oath of the Scots who inhabited there, which no Law had ordained or prescribed; which may make those Councillors who have advised the King to impose this new Oath, as well as all others that shall require it to be taken upon his Majesties bare Authority, to be a little apprehensive, whether it may not at some time rise in judgment against them, and prove a forfeiture of their lives to justice. And as the imposing an Oath not warranted by Law is a high Act of Absolute Power, and in the King an altering of the Constitution; so if we look into the Oath it self, we shall find this Absolute Power strangely manifested and displayed in all the parts and branches of it, and the people required to swear themselves his Majesties most obedient Slaves and Vassals. By one Paragraph of it, they are required to swear that it is unlawful for Subjects on any pretence or for any Cause whatsoever to rise in Arms against him, or any Commissioned by him; and that they shall never resist his power or Authority; which as it may be intended for a foundation and means of keeping men quiet when he shall break in upon their Estates and overthrow their Religion, so it may be designed as an encouragement to his Catholic Subjects, to set upon the cutting Protestants throats, when by this Oath their hands are tied up from hindring them. It is but for the Papists to come Authorized with his Majesties Commission, which will not be denied them for so meritorious a work, and then there is no help nor remedy; but we must stretch out our necks, and open our Breasts, to their consecrated swords, and sanctified daggers. Nay if the King should transfer the Succession to the Crown from the Rightful Heir to some zealous Romanist, or Alienist and dispose his Kingdoms in way of donation and gifts to the Pope, or to the Society of the Jesuits, and for

the better securing them in the possession hereafter, should invest and place them in the enjoyment of them while he lives; the Scots are bound in the virtue of this Oath tamely to look on, and calmly to acquiesce in it. Or should his Physicians advise him to a nightly variety of Matrons and Maids, as the best remedy against his malignant and venomous heats; all of that Kingdom are bound to surrender their Wives and daughters to him with a dutiful silence and a profound veneration. And if by this Oath he can secure himself from the opposition of his dissenting Subjects in case thro recovery of their Reason a fit of ancient zeal should surprize them, he is otherway secured of an Apostolical tameness in his prelatical people, by a principle which they have lately imbib'd, but neither learned from their Bibles nor the Statutes of the Land. For the Clergy upon thinking that the wind would always blow out of one quarter, and being resolved to make that a duty by their learning, which their interest at that season made convenient; have preached up the Doctrine of passive Obedience to such a boundless height, that they have done what in them lyes, to give up themselves and all that had the weakness to believe them, fettered and bound for sacrifices to popish rage and Despotical Tyranny. But for my self (and I hope the like of many others) I thank God I am not tainted with that slavish and adulatory doctrine, as having always thought that the first duty of every member of a Body politic, is to the Community, for whose safety, and good, Governours are instituted, and that it is only to Rulers as they are found to answer the main ends they are appointed for; and to Act by the legal Rules that are Chalked out unto them. Whether it be from my dulness, or that my understanding is of a perverser make than other mens, I cannot tell; but I could never yet be otherway's minded, than that the Rules of the Constitution and the Laws of the Republick or Kingdom, are to be the measures both of the Sovereigns Commands, and of the Subjects obedience; and that as we are not to invade what by concessions and stim-

belongings unto the Ruler, so we may not only lawfully, but we ought to defend what is reserved to our selves, if it be invaded and broken in upon. And as without such a Right in the Subjects, all legal Governments, and mixed Monarchies, were but empty names, and ridiculous things; so where-ever the Constitution of a Nation is such, where the Prince who strives to subvert the Laws of the Society is the Traitor and Rebel; and not the people who endeavour to preserve and defend them. There is yet another branch of the foresaid Oath, that is of a much more unreasonable strain than the former, which is, *that they shall to the utmost of their Power assist, defend, and maintain him in the exercise of this Absolute Power and Authority;* which being tack'd to our Obeying without reserve, make us the greatest Slaves, that either are, or ever were in the universe. Our Kings were heretofore bound to Govern according to law (and so is his present Majesty, if a Coronation Oath, and faith to Hereticks), were not weaker than Sampson's cords proved to be) but instead of that, here is a new Oath imposed upon the Subjects by which they are bound to protect and defend the King in his Ruling Arbitrarily. It had been more than enough to have required only a calm submitting to the exercise of Absolute Power; but to be enjoined to swear to assist and defend his Majesty and Successors in all things wherein they shall exert it, is a plain destroying of all natural as well as Civil Liberty, and a robbing us of that freedom that belongs unto us both as we are men, and as we are born under a free and legal Government. For by this we become bound to dragg our Brethren to the Stake, to cut their Throats, plunder their Houses, embrew our hands in the Blood of our Wives and Children, if his Majesty please to make these the Instances wherein he will exert his Absolute Power, and require us to assist him in the exercise of it. As it was necessary to Cancell all other Oaths and Tests, as being directly inconsistent with this; so the requiring the Scots to swear this Oath, is the highest reveng he could take for their Solemn league

and Covenant and for all other Oaths, that lust after Arbitrariness, and Popish Bigottry, will pronounce to have been injurious to the Crown. But no words are sufficient to express the mischiefs wrapt up in that new Oath, or to declare the abhorrency that all who value the Rights and liberties of mankind ought to entertain for it, nor to proclaim the villany of those who shall by Addresses give thanks for the Proclamation. There may a fourth thing be added, whereby it will appear that his Majesty assuming Absolute Power, stands recorded in Capital Letters in his Declaration for liberty of Conscience. For not being contented to omit the requiring the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy and the Test Oaths to be taken, nor being satisfied to suspend for a season the enjoining any to be demanded to take them; he tells us that it is his Royal will and pleasure that the foresaid Oaths shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, which is a full and direct Repealing of the Laws in which they are Enacted. It hath hitherto passed for an undoubted Maxim, that *corum est tollere, quorum est condere*, they can only abrogate Laws, who have Power and Authority to make them, and we have heretofore been made believe, that the Legislative power was not in the King alone, but that the two Houses of Parliaments had at least a share in it; whereas here by the disabling and suspending Laws for ever, the whole legislative Power is challenged to be vested in the King, and at one dash the Government of England is subverted and changed. Tho it hath been much disputed whether the King had a liberty of Refusing to Assent to Bills relating to the benefit of the publick that had passed the two Houses, and if there be any sense in those words of the Coronation Oath of his being bound to Govern according to the Laws quas vulgus Eligerit, he had not; yet none till now, that his Majesty doth it, had the impudence to affirm that he might abrogate Laws without the concurrence and assent of the Lords and Commons. For to say that Oaths enjoined by Laws to be required to be taken, shall not at any time hereafter be required

red to be taken, is a plain Cancellling and re-
pealing of these *Laws*, or nothing of this
World ever was or is, nor can the wisdom
of the Nation in *Parliament* assembled, find
words more *emphatical* to declare their *Abroga-
tion*, without saying so, which at this time it
was necessary to forbear, for fear of allar-
ming the *Kingdom* too far, before his *Ma-
jesty* be sufficiently provided against it. For
admitting them to continue still in being and
force, tho the *King* may promise for the
nonexecution of them, during his own time,
(which is even a pretty bold undertaking)
yet he cannot assure us that the *Oaths* shall not
be required to be taken at any time hereafter,
unless he have provided for an eternal *Line*
of *papist* *Successors*, which God will not be
so unmerciful as to plague us with, or have
gotten a lease of a longer life than *Meib-
salah's*, which is much more than the full
Century of years wished him in a late *Dedi-
cation* by one that styles himself an *Irisbman*,
a thing he might have foreborn telling us,
because the *Size* of his understanding fully
declares it. However here is such a stroke
and exercise of *Absolute Power* as dissolves the
Government, and brings us all into a *State* of
Nature, by discharging us from the ties,
which by virtue of *fundamental Stipulations*,
and *Statute Laws* we formerly lay under; for-
asmuch as we know no *King* but a *King* by
Law, nor no *Power* he has but a *legal Power*.
Which thro disclaiming by a challenge that
the whole *legislative Authority* does reside in
himself, he hath thrown the *Ganiles* to three
Kingdoms, and provokes them to a trial, whe-
ther he be able to maintain his *Absoluteness*
or they to justify their being a free *People*.
And by virtue of the same *Royal will* and plea-
sure, that he annuls (which he calls *Suspen-
ding*) the *Laws* enjoining the *Tests* and the
Oaths of Allegiance and *Supremacy*, and com-
mands that none of these *Oaths* and *Decla-
rations* shall at any time hereafter be required to
be taken; he may in some following *Royal Pa-
pers*, give us *whitshall*, or *Hampson Court*
Edicts, conformable to those at *Versailles*,
which at all times hereafter we shall be bound

to submit unto, and stand obliged to be Re-
led by instead of the *Common Law* and *Statute*
Book. Nor is the taking upon him to stamp
us new *Laws*, exclusively of *Parliamentary*
concurrence, in the virtue of his *Royal pro-
rogative*, any thing more uncouth in it self,
or more disagreeable to the *Rules* of the *Con-
stitution* and what we have been constantly
accustomed unto, than the *cassing*, *disabling*
and *abrogating* so many old ones, which that
absolute, out of date, as well as ill favoured
thing upon *Monarchs*, called a *Parliament*,
had a share in the Enacting of. I will not
say that our *Addressees* were conscious, that
the getting an *Absolute Power* in his *Majesty*,
to be owned and acknowledged, was one
of the *Ends* for which the late *Declaration*
was calculated and emitted, but I think I
have sufficiently demonstrated both that such
a power it issueth and flows from, and that
such a power is plainly exercised in it. Which
whether there coming now to be told and
made acquainted with it, may make them
repent what they have done, or at least pre-
vent their being accessory to the support of
this *Power* in other mischievous effects that
are to be dreaded from it, I must leave to
time to make the discovery, it being impos-
sible to foretel what a *People* fallen into a
phrenzic may do in their *paroxysms* of distra-
ction and madness.

Nor was the *Serving* himself into the pos-
session of an *Absolute power*, and the getting
it to be owned by at least a part of the
people, the only *Motive* to the publishing
the *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* in
England, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration*
in *Scotland*; but a *second inducement*, that
sway'd unto it, was the *undermining* an sub-
verting the *Protestant Religion*, and the open-
ing a door for the *introduction* and *establi-
shment* of *Papery*. Nor was it from any com-
passion to *Dissenters*, that these two *Royal*
Papers were emitted, but from his *Majesty's*
tender love to *Papists*, to whom as there
arise many advantages for the present, so
the whole *Benefit* will be found to re-
dound to them in the issue. We are told (as

I have

have already mentioned) that the King is resolved to convert England, or to die a Martyr; and we may be sure that if he did not think of suspending the penal Laws, and the dispensing with requiring of the Tests, and the granting Liberty and Toleration, to be means admirably adapted thereunto, he would not have acted so inconsistently with himself, nor in that opposition to his own designs, as to have disabled these Laws, and touch'd the Freedom that results thereupon. Especially when we are told by the *Leige Jesuite*, that the King being sensible of his growing old, finds himself thereby obliged to make the greater haste, and to take the larger steps, lest thro not living long enough to effect what he intends, he should not only lose the glory of converting three Kingdoms, but should leave the Papists in a worse condition than he found them. His Highness the Prince of Orange very justly concludes this to be the thing aim'd at by the present Indulgences, and therefore being desir'd to approve the Suspension of the Test Acts, and to co-operate with his Majesty for the obtaining their being Repealed; was pleas'd to Answer, that while he was, as well as professeth himself a Protestant, he would not Act so unworthily as to betray the Protestant Religion, which he necessarily must, if he should do as he was desir'd. Her Royal Highness the Princess of Orange, has likewise the same apprehension of the tendency of the Toleration and Indulgence, and therefore was pleas'd to say to some *Scotts Ministers* that did themselves the honor, and performed the duty that became them, in going to wait upon her, that She greatly commended their having no accession to the betraying of the Protestant Religion, by their returning home to take the benefit of the Toleration. What an indelible Reproach will it be to a Company of men, that pretend to be for the defence of the Gospel, and who stile themselves Ministers of Jesus Christ, to be found betraying Religion, thro justifying the Suspension of so many Laws whereby it was established and supported, and whereby the Kingdoms were Fenced about, and

guarded against Popery; while these two Noble Princes to the neglect of their own Interest in His Majesties Favour, and to the provoking him to do them all the prejudice he can in their Right of Succession to the Imperial Crowns of Great Britain, do signify their open dislike of that Act of the King, and that not only upon the account of its illegality and Arbitrariness, but by reason of its tendency to supplant and undermine the Reformed Religion. And they are strangely blind that do not see how it powerfully operates, and conduceth to the effecting of this, and that in more ways and methods than are easie to be recounted. For thereby our divisions, are not only kept up at a time, when the united Councils and strength of all Protestants is too little against the craft and power of Rome; but they who have Addressed to thank the King for his Royal Papers, are become a listed and enrolled Faction, to abet and stand by the King in all that naturally follows to be done for the maintaining his Declaration, and justifying of the usurped Authority from which it issues. 'Tis matter of a melancholy consideration, and turns little to the credit of Dissenters, that when they of the Church of England, who had with so great indiscretion promoted things to that pass, which an easie improvement of would produce what hath since ensued, are thro being at last enlightened in the designs of the Court, come so far to recover their wits, as that they can no longer do the service they were wont, and which was still expected from them; there should be a new Tribe of men muster'd up to stand in their room, and who by their vows and Promises made to the King in their Addresses, have undertaken to perform, what others have the Conscience, and Honesty, as well as the Wisdom, to refuse and decline. Nor are the Divisions among Protestants only hereby upheld and maintained; but our Animosities and rancours are both continued and enflamed. For while they of the Established way are provoked and exasperated to see all the legal

Foundations both of the *Protestant Religion* and their *Church* subverted; the *Addressing-Dissenters* are emboldned, to revenge themselves upon the *National Clergy*, in *Terms* of the utmost opprobry, virulence, and reproach, for their accession to the sufferings which they had endured. Surely it would have been not only more *generous*, but much more *Christian*, and becoming good as well as wise men, to have made no other Retaliations but those of forgiveness and pardon for the injuries they had met with, and to have offered all the assistances, they could give, to their *conformable Brethren*, for the stemming and withstanding the deluge of *Papery* and *Tyranny* that is impetuously breaking in upon the *Kingdom*. And as this would have united all *Protestants* in bonds of forbearance and love not to be dissolved thro petty differences about *Discipline*, *Forms of Worship*, and a few *Rites*, and *Ceremonies*; so it would in the sense and judgment of all men, have given them a more triumphant victory over those that had been their imprudent and peevish Enemies, than if they were to enjoy the spoils of the *conformable Clergy*, by being put into possession of their *Cures* and *Benefices*. The Relation I have stood into the *Dissenting party*, and the Kindness I retain for them above all other, make me heartily bewail, their losing the happiest opportunity, that was ever put into their hands, not only of improving the compassion, which their calamities had raised for them in the hearts of the generality, into friendship and kindness, but of acquiring such a *merit* upon the *Nation*, that the utmost favours which a true *English Protestant Parliament* could hereafter have shewed them, would have been accounted but slender as well as just Recompences. Nor can I forbear to say, that I had rather have seen the *Furnace* of afflictions made hotter for them, tho it should have been my own lot to be thrown into the most scorching flames, than to have beheld them guilty of those excesses of folly towards themselves, and of treachery to *Religion*, and the *Laws* of their

Countray, which their present ease, and a short opportunity afforded them of acquiring gain, have hurried and transported to many of them into. It plainly appears with what aspect upon our *Religion* the *Declaration for liberty of Conscience* was emitted, if we do but observe the advantages the *Papists* have already reapt by it. How is the whole nation thereupon, not only overflow'd with swarms of *Lotus*, and all places filled with *Priests* and *Jesuits*, but the whole *executive Power* of the *Government*, and all preformers of honor, interest, and profit are put into *Roman Catholic* hands? So that we are not only exposed to the unwearied and restless importunities of *Seducers*, but through the advancement of *Papists* to all Offices *Civil*, and *Military*, if not *Ecclesiastick*; the covetous become brib'd, the timorous threaten'd, and the prophane are baited with temptations suitable to their lusts, and they that stand resolved to continue honest are laid open not only to the bold assaults of *Priests* and *Physicians*, the insolencies of petulant *Papish Justice*, the chicaneries and oppressions of the *Arbitrary Commission Court*, but to the rage of his *Majesty*, and the danger of being attack'd by his *Armed Squadrons*. To which may be added, that by the same *Prerogative* and *Absolute Power* that his *Majesty* hath suspended the *Laws* made for the *Protection* of our *Religion*; he may disab and dispense with all the *Laws* by which it is set up and established. And as it will not be more illegal and *Arbitrary* to make void the *Laws* for *Protestancy*, than to have suspended those against *Papery*; so I do not see how the *Addressers* that have approved the *one*, can disallow or condemn the *other*. For the *King* having obtained an acknowledgment of his *Absolute Power*, and of his *Royal prerogative* paramount to *Laws* on his exercising it in one Instance; it now depends merely upon his own will (for any thing these Thanks-giving Gentlemen have to say against it) whether he may not exert it in another, wherein they are not likely to find so much of their ease and gain.

There is a *third Inducement* to the Emitting those

ose Royal Papers, which tho at the first
 ew, it may seem wholly to regard *Forraig-
 ers*, yet it ultimately terminates in the sub-
 ersion of our *Religion* at home, and in the
 King putting himself into a condition of
 exercising his *Absolute Power* in whatsoever
 Acts he pleaseth over his own *Subjects*, whe-
 ther after the *French* fashion in comman-
 ding them to turn *Catholicks*, because he will
 have it so, or after the manner of the *Grand
 Signior* to require them to submit their
 Necks to the *Bow string*; because he is jea-
 lous of them, or wants their *Estates* to pay
 his *Favourites*. The united *Provinces* are they
 whom he bore a particular spleen and in-
 dignation unto, when he was a *subject*, and
 upon whom he is now in the *Throne*, he re-
 solves not only to wreak all his old malice,
 but by conquering and subduing them (if he
 can) to strengthen his *Absoluteness* over his
 own *People*, and to pave his way for over-
 throwing the *protestant Religion* in great *Brit-
 tain*, without lying open to the hazards that
 may otherwise attend and ensue upon the
 attempting of it. And instead of expecting
 nothing from him, but what may become
 a brave and generous Enemy, they ought
 to remember the encouragement that he
 gave heretofore to two varlets, to burn
 that part of their *Fleet* which belong'd to
Amsterdam, an action as ignominious as
 fraudulent; and that might have been fatal to
 all the *Provinces*, if thro a happy and seaso-
 nable detection and the apprehension of
 one of the miscreants, it had not been pre-
 vented. He knows that the *States General*
 are not only zealous assertors of the *protes-
 tants Religion*, but alway's ready to afford a
Sanctuary and a place of *Refuge* to those who
 being oppressed for the profession of it else-
 where, are forced to forsake their own *Coun-
 tries*, and to seek for shelter and relief in
 other parts. And as he is not unsensible,
 how easie the withdrawalment and flight is
 into these *Provinces*, for such as are persecut-
 ed in his *Dominions*; so he is aware, that if
 multitudes, and especially men of condi-
 tion and *Estates*, should for the avoiding his

cruelty betake themselves thither, that they
 would not be unthoughtful of all ways and
 means, whereby they might Redeem their
Country from *Tyranny*, and restore them-
 selves to the quiet enjoyment of their *Estates*
 and *liberties* at home. But that which most
 enrages him is, the *Figure* which the two
Princes do make in that *State* (of whose *Suc-
 cession* to the *Crown* the *Protestants* in *Brittain*
 have so near a prospect) and the *Post* which
 the *Princes* filleth in that Government, so
 that he dare neither venture to *disinherit*
Them, nor impose upon them such *Terms*,
 and *Conditions*, as their Consciences will not
 suffer them to comply with, while either
 these *States* remain Free, or while such *Eng-
 lish* and *Scotts* as retain a zeal for *Religion*
 and the ancient *Laws* and *Rights* of their re-
 spective *Countries*, can retreat thither under
 hopes of Admission and Protection. And
 so closely are the interests of all *Protestants*
 in *England* and *Scotland*, woven and inlaid
 with the interest of the united *Netherlands*,
 and such is the singular regard that both the
 one and the other bear to the *Reformed Reli-
 gion*, the *liberty* of *Mankind* and their several
Civil Rights; that it is impossible for his Ma-
 jesty to embarque in a design against the
One, without resolving at the same time
 upon the ruin of the *Other*. Neither will
 the *One* be able to subsist, when once the
Other is subdu'd and enslaved. As *Philip*
 the II. of *Spain*, saw no way so compen-
 dious for the restoring himself to the Sove-
 raignty and Tyrannous Rule over the *Dutch*,
 as the subjugating of *England* that hel'p to
 support and assist them, which was the
 ground of rigging out his formidable *Arma-
 do*, and of his design against *England* in 1588.
 so his *British Majesty*, thinks no method so
 expeditious for the enslaving his own *People*,
 as the endeavouring first to subdue the *Dutch*.
 And as upon the one hand it would be of a
 threatening consequence to *Holland*, could
 the *King* subjugate his own *People*, extirpate
 the *protestants Religion* out of his *Dominions*,
 and advance himself to a *Despotal Power*,
 so upon the other hand, could he conquer
 the

the *Dutch*, we might with the greatest certainty *Dare* the woful *Fate* of great *Britain*, and the loss of all that is valuable to them as men and Christians, from the same moment and Period of time. They are like the *Twins* we read of, whose *Destiny* was to live and die together; and which soever of the *two* is destroyed first, all the hope and comfort that the *other* can pretend unto, is to be last devoured. Now after the advances which his Majesty hath made towards the enslaving his *Subjects*, and the subverting the *Reformed Religion* in his *Kingdoms*, he finds it necessary before he venture to give the last and fatal stroke at home, and to enter upon the plenary exercise of his *Absolute Power*, in laying *Parliaments* wholly aside, in cancelling all *Laws* to make way for *Royal Edicts* or *Declarations* of the completion of the former, and in commanding us to turn *Roman Catholics*, or to be *dragons*; I say he thinks it needful before he proceed to these, to try whether he can subdue and conquer the *Dutch*, and thereby remove all hopes of shelter, relief, comfort, and assistance from his own *People*, when he shall afterwards fall upon them. And how much soever the *Courts* endeavour to conceal its design, and strives to compliment the *States General* into a confidence that all *Alliances* between them and the *Crown of England* shall be maintained and preserved; yet they not only speak their intentions by several open and visible actions, but some of them cannot forbear to tell it, when their blood is heated and their heads warm'd with a liberal glass and a lusty proportion of wine. Thence it was that a Governing *Papist* lately told a Gentleman after they two had drunk hard together, that they had some *Work* in *England* that would employ them a little time, but when that was over they would make the *Dutch* fly to the end of the *World*, to find a resting place. *Delenda est Carthago* is engraven upon their hearts, as being that without which *Rome* cannot arrive at the universal *Monarchy* that it aspires after. It was upon a formed design of a war against the *united Provinces*,

that the *King* hath for these two years stirr'd up and incited, as well as countenanced and protected the *Algerines* in their *Piracies*, thro' their weakning and spoiling the *Dutch* before hand, it may be the more easie matter for him to subdue them, when he shall think fit to begin his hostilities. 'Tis in order to this, that he hath entred into new and secret *Alliances* with other *Princes*, the purport of which is boldly talk'd of in *London*, but whether believed at the *Hague* I can not tell. For as *Monsr. Barrillon* and *Monsr. Bonrepas* present *Transactions* at *Whitchal* relate to something else than merely to the *sale of Hudsons Bay*; so *Prince Georges* errand to *Denmark*, is of more importance than bare visite, or a naked compliment to his *Brother*. 'Tis upon this design that all the great *Marine* preparation hath been so long making in the several ports of *England*; but to the hindring the execution whereof some unexpected and not foreseen accidents have interposed. And it is in subserviency not to be disquieted at home, while he is carrying on this holy war abroad, that the *Declaration for liberty of Conscience in England*, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland*, are granted and published. 'Tis well enough known how that after the *French King* had, among many other severities exercised against *Protestants*, made them incapable of Employments and commands; yet to avoid the consequences that might have ensued thereupon, while he was engaged in war against the *Emperor*, the *King of Spain*, and the *States of Holland*, and to have the aid of his *Reformed Subjects*; he not only intermitted and abated in many other rigours towards them, but in *Anno 1674*. restored them to a capacity of being employed and preferred. And that this did not flow from any compassion, tendernes or good will, towards them, his carriage since the issue of that war, and the miserable condition he hath reduced them unto, do's sufficiently testify and declare. Nor can we forget, how that the late *King*, after a rigorous execution of the penal *Laws* for several years against *Dissenters*; yet being to enter into an unjust

war against the united Provinces Anno 1672, not only forbore all proceedings of that kind, but published a *Declaration* for suspending the execution of all those *Laws*, and for the allowing them liberty of Assembling to worship God in their separate meetings, without being hindered or disturbed. What principle that proceeded from, and to what end it was calculated, appeared in his behaviour to them afterwards, when neither the danger the Nation was in from the *Papists*, nor the application of several *Parliaments* could prevail for lenity towards them, much less for a *legal Repeal* of those impolitic and unreasonable Statutes. Nor does the present *Indulgence* flow from any kindness to *Fanatics*, but it is only an artifice to lull their discontents, and to procure their assistance for the destroying of a *Foreign Protestant State*. And it may not be unworthy of observation, that as the *Declaration of Indulgence* Anno 1672. bore date much about the same time with the *Declaration of war* against the *Dutch*; so at the very season that his present Majesty emitted his *Declaration for liberty of Conscience*, there were *Commissions of Reprisal* prepared and ready to be granted to the *English East India Company* against the *Hollanders*, but which were suppressed upon the *Courts* finding that they whom the suspending the *Execution* of so many *Laws*, and the granting such liberties, Rights and immunities to the *Papists*, had disgusted and provoked, were far more numerous and their resentments more to be apprehended, than they were; whose murmurings and discontents they had silenced and allay'd by the *liberty* that was granted. Now as it will be at this juncture, when the *Protestants Interest* is so low in the World, and the *Reformed Religion* in so great danger of being destroyed, a most wicked as well as an imprudent Act, to contribute help and aid to the subjugating a people, that are the chief *Proteectors* of the *protestant Religion* that are left, and almost the only *Asserters* of the *Rights and liberties of Mankind*; so it may, fill the *Addressees* with confusion and shame

that they should have not only justified an Act of his Majesty that is plainly designed to such a mischievous End, but that they should by the promises and vows that they have made him, have emboldened his Majesty to continue his purposes and Resolutions of a war against the *Dutch*. Which as it must be funestous and fatal to the *Protestant Cause*, in case he should prosper and succeed; so howsoever it should issue, yet the *Addressees*, who have done what in them lies to give encouragement unto it, will be held *betrayers* of the *Protestant Religion*, both abroad and at home, and judged guilty of all the blood of those of the same Faith with them, that shall be shed in this Quarrel.

That *Liberty* ought to be allowed to men in matters of *Religion*, is no *Plea* whereby the *Kings* giving it in an *illegal and Arbitrary* manner, can be maintained and justified. Since ever I was capable of Exercising any distinct and coherent Acts of Reason, I have been always of that Mind, that none ought to be persecuted for their Consciences towards God in matters of Faith and Worship. Nor is it one of those things that lye under the power of the *Sovereign* and *Legislative Authority*, to grant or not to grant; but it is a Right settled upon mankind antecedent to all *Civil Constitutions* and *Humane Laws*, having its foundation in the *Law of Nature*, which no *Prince* or *State* can legitimately violate and infringe. The *Magistrate* as a *Civil Officer* can pretend or claim no power over a people, but what he either derives from the *Divine Charter*, wherein God, the *Supream Instituter of Magistracy* has chalk't out the duty of *Rulers* in general, or what the people upon the first and original *Stipulation*, are supposed to have given him in order to the protection, peace and prosperity of the *Society*. But as it does not where appear that God hath given any such power to *Governors*, seeing all the Revelations in the Scripture, as well as all the Dictates of Nature, speak a contrary language, so neither can the People upon their choosing such a one to be their *Ruler*, be ima-

gined to *transferr* and *vest* such a power in him, for as much as they cannot divest themselves of a power, no more than of a *Right*, of believing things, as they arrive with a credibility to their several and respective Understandings. As it is in no mans power to believe as he will, but only as he sees cause; so it is the most irrational imagination in the world, to think they should transferr a *Right* to him whom they have chosen to Govern them, of punishing them for what it is not in their power to help. Nor can any thing be plainer, than that God has reserved the *Empire* over *Conscience* to himself, and that he hath circumscribed the power of all humane *Governors* to things of a civil and inferior nature. And had God convey'd a *Right* unto *Magistrates* of commanding men to be of this or that *Religion*, and that because they are so, and will have others to be of their mind; it would follow that the People may conform to whatsoever they require, tho by all the lights of sense, Reason and Revelation, they are convinced of the falseness of it: seeing whatsoever the *Sovereign* rightfully Commands, the *Subjects* may lawfully obey. But tho the persecuting people for matters of meer *Religion*, be repugnant to the light of Nature, inconsistent with the fundamental Maxims of Reason, directly contrary to the temper and genius, as well as to the Rules of the Gospel, and not only against the safety and interest of *Civil Societies*, but of a tendency to fill them with confusion, and to arm Subjects to the cutting of one anothers throats; yet *Governors* may both deny *Liberty* to those whose principles oblige them to destroy those that are not of their mind, and may in some measure *Regulate* the Liberty which they vouchsafe to others, whose opinions tho they do not think dangerous to the peace of the *Community*, yet thro judging them erroneous and false, they conceive them dangerous to the Soules of men. As there is a vast difference betwixt *Tolerating* a *Religion*, and approving the *Religion* that is *Tolerated*; so what a Government doth not approve,

but barely permits and suffers, may brought under Restrictions as to time, place and number of those professing it, that shall assemble in one meeting; which it were an undecency, to extend to those of the justified and established way. Now whatsoever *Restrictions*, or *Regulations*, are Enacted, and ordained by the *Legislative Authority*, in reference to *Religions* or *Religious Assemblies*; they are not to be stop'd, disabled or suspended, but by the same *Authority* that Enacted and ordained them. The *King* say very truly, that *Conscience* ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of *Religion*; but it does not from thence follow (unless by the Logick of *Whitehal*) that without the concurrence of a *Parliament* he should suspend and dispense with the Law, and by a pretended prerogative, relieve any from what they are obnoxious unto by the *Statutes* of the *Realm*. His saying, that the forcing people in matters of *Religion* spoils *Trade*, depopulates *Countries*, discourages *Strangers*, and answers not the End bringing all to an Uniformity, for which it is employ'd; would do well in a Speech to the *Houses* of *Parliament*, to persuade them to Repeal some certain *Laws*, or might do well to determine his Majesty to assent to such *Bills* as a *Parliament* may prepare and offer for relieving persons in matters of *Conscience*; but does not serve for what it is alledged, nor can it warrant his suspending the *Laws* by his single *Authority*. And by this way, I know when these very Arguments were not only despised by His Majesty, and ridiculed by those who took their Cue from Court, and had wit to do it, as by the present *Bishop of Oxford* in a very ill natur'd Book, called *Ecclesiastical Policy*; but who the daring to have mentioned them, would have provok'd the then *Duke of York* to indignation, and have expos'd the party that did it to discountenance and disgrace. The question is not, what is convenient to be done in some measure and degree, and in reference to those whose *Religion* does not oblige them to destroy all that differ from

om, when they have opportunity for it; at the point in debate is, who hath the *legislative* power of doing it, and of fixing its bounds and limits. It was never pretended that the *Legislative* ought to be shut out from a share in *depending and Repealing Laws*; but that the *Right* of doing it belongs to *him*, is that cannot be allowed, without changing the *Constitution*, and placing the whole *Legislative Authority* in His Majesty. And as it is a *Usurpation* in the King to challenge it, and *treachery* in English Subjects to acknowledge it, or the inconveniences, that this, or that party, are in the mean time exposed unto, to the Laws remaining in force, are rather to be endured, than that a power of giving ease and relief (farther than by *consequence*) should be confessed to reside in any one, in whom the *Laws* of the Community have not placed it. 'Tis better to undergo hardships under the Execution of unjust *Laws*; than be released from our troubles, by a *power Usurped* over all *Laws*. For by the one, the *measures of Government*, as well as the *Rights and Privileges* of a Nation, are destroy'd; whereas by the other, only a part of the people are afflicted and induly dealt with. While we are Govern'd by *Laws*, tho several of them may be instant and inconvenient, yet we are under a security as to all other things which those *Laws* have not made liable; but when we are all under an illimited *prerogative and Absolute Power*, we have no longer a Title unto, or a hedge about any thing, but all lies open to the lust and pleasure of *him*, in whom we have owned that *power* to be placed. A *Liberty* is what *Dissenters* have a *Right to Claim*, and which the *Legislative Authority* is bound by the *Rules of Justice and Duty* as well as by *Principles of Wisdom and Discretion* to grant. And I am sorry that while they stood so fair to obtain it by a *Legal and Parliamentary* way, any of them by acknowledging a *Right* in another to give it, and that in a manner so subversive of the *Authority of Parliaments*, should have rendered themselves unworthy to re-

ceive it from them, to whom the *power of bestowing* it does belong. Not but that a *Toleration* will be always due to their *Principles*, but I know not whether the particular men of those Principles, who have by their *Addresses* betray'd the Kingdom, may not come to be judged to have forfeited all share in it, for their *crime* committed against the *Constitution*, and the whole *Polisick Society*. Nor is there any thing more just and equal, than that they who surrender and give away the *Rights* both of *Legislators and Subjects*; should lose all grace and favour from the former, and all portion among the latter.

And how much soever some Protestant *Dissenters*, may please themselves with the *Liberty*, that at present they enjoy in the vertue of the two *Royal Papers*; yet this may serve to moderate them in their transports of gladness, that they have no solid Security for the continuance of it. For should a *Parliament* null and make *void* the *Declaration for Liberty*, and impeach the judges for declaring a *power vested* in the King to suspend so many *Laws*, and for forbearing upon the Kings *Mandat* to execute them; the freedom that the *Dissenters* possess, would immediately vanish, and have much the same destiny that the *Liberty* had, which was granted unto them by the *Declaration of Indulgence* anno 1672. Or should the *Parliament* be willing to grant ease and Indulgence to all Protestants, by a *Bill* prepared for Repealing of all the *Laws* formerly made against them, and should only be desirous to preserve in force the *Laws* relating to the Oaths of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, and the *Statutes* which enjoin the *Tests*, of whose Execution we never more wanted the benefit in order to our preservation from *Popery*, and which an *English Parliament* cannot be supposed willing to part with, at a time when our Lives, Estates, and Religion, are so visibly threatned to be swallowed up, and destroyed by the *Papists*; in that case we may confidently believe, that the King instead either of *Assenting* to such

a Bill for separate favour to *Protestants*, or persevering in his Compassion and Kindness of continuing the *Suspension* of the *Laws* against *Dissenters*, he would from an inveterate enmity as well as from a new contracted resentment, be stirred up and enraged to the putting the *Laws* in execution with greater rigor and severity, than hath been seen, or felt heretofore. And all that the *Adversers* would then reap by the *Declaration*, would be to undergo the furious effects of brutal rage in their Persecutors, and to be unpitied by the Kingdom, and unlamented by their fellow *Protestants*. Or should His Majesty in favour to his good Catholics, resolve against the meeting of a *Parliament*, or to adjourn and prorogue them whensoever he shall find, that instead of confirming what he hath done, they shall make null his *Declaration*, vote his pretended prerogative illegal and arbitrary, and fall upon those mercenary and perjured Villains, who have allowed him a power transcendent to *Law*; yet even upon that supposal, which is the best that can be made to support mens hopes in the continuance of the present Liberty, the *Protestant Dissenters* would have but slender Security, all the tenure they have for the duration of their Freedom being only precarious, and depending merely upon the Kings Word and promise, which there is small ground to rely upon. Nor can he be true to them, without being false to his Religion, which not only gives him leave to break his Faith with Hereticks, but obligeth him to it, and to destroy them to boot, and that both under the pain of damnation, and of forfeiting his Crown and losing his Dominions. And how far the Promise and Royal Word of a Catholic Monarch is to be trusted unto, and depended upon, we have a modern proof and evidence in the behaviour of Louis de Grand towards his Reformed Subjects, not only in repealing the many Edicts made and confirmed by himself, as well as his Ancestors, for the free exercise of their Religion; but in the method's he hath always observed; namely to promise them protection

in the profession of their Faith, and practice of their Worship, when he was most steadfastly resolved to subvert their Religion, and was about making some fresh advance and taking some new step for its extirpation. Thus when he had firmly purposed, not to suffer a Minister to continue a year in the Kingdom, he at the same time, published an Edict, requiring Ministers, to serve but three years in one place, and not to return to the Church, where they had first officiated till after the expiration of twenty years. In the same manner, when he had resolved to Repeal the Edict of Nantes, and had given injunction for the Draught, by which it was to be done; he at the same season, gave the *Protestants*, all assurances of Protection, and of the said Edicts being kept inviolable. To which may be added, that shameful and detestable Chicanery, in passing his Sacred and Royal Word, that no violence should be offered any for their Religion, tho at that very moment, the Dragons were upon their march, with orders of exercising all manner of cruelties, and barbarities, upon them. So that His Majesty of Great Britain, hath a pattern lately set him, and that by the Illustrious Monarch, whom he so much admires, and whom he makes his ambition, and glory, to imitate. Nor are we without proofs already, how insignificant the Kings promises are, (except to delude) and what little confidence, ought to be put in them. The disabling, and suspending, the 13th Statute of his late Parliament in Scotland, wherein the Test was confirmed, and his departing from all his Promises Registered in his Letter, as well as from those contained in the Speech made by the Lord Commissioner, pursuant to the Instructions which he had undoubtedly received, together with his having forgotten and receded from all his Promises made to the Church of England both when Duke of York, and since he came to the Crown, are undeniable evidences, that his Royal Word, is no more Sacred, nor binding, than that of some other Monarchs; and that whosoever of the

Protestants, shall be so foolish, as to rely upon it, will find themselves as certainly disappointed, and deceived, as they of the *Reformed Religion* elsewhere, have been. And while they of the *established way*, find no small security by the *Law*, which the *King* is bound by his *Coronation Oath* to observe; the *Dissenters* cannot expect very much, from a naked *Promise*, which as it hath not a solemn *Oath* to enforce it, so 'tis both illegal in the making, and contrary to the principles of his Religion to keep. Nor is it unworthy of observation, that he hath not only departed from his promises, made to the Church of England; but that we are told, in a late Popish Pamphlet, Entitled, *A New Test of the Church of Englands Loyalty*, published as it self say's by Authority, that they were all conditional (to wit by virtue of some mental Reservation in his Majesties breast) and that the *Conformable Clergy*, having failed, in performing the Conditions, upon which they were made; the *King*, is absolved, and discharged, from all Obligation, of observing them. The Church of England (say's he) must give his Majesty leave not to nourish a Snake in his bosom, but rather to withdraw his Royal protection, which was promised, upon the account, of her constant fidelity. Which as it is a plain threatening of all the *Legal Clergy*, and a denunciation of the unjust and hard measure, they are to look for; so it shakes the Foundation, upon which all credit unto, and reliance upon, his Majesties Word, can be any way's placed. For tho' threatenings may have tacit Reserves, because the right of executing them, resides in the *Threatner*; yet Promises are incapable of all latent conditions, because every Promise vests a Right in the Promise, and that in the virtue of the words in which it is made. But 'tis the less to be wondred at, if His Majesty fly to Equivocations and Mental Reserves, being both under the conduct of that Order, and a Member of the Society, that first taught and practised this treacherous piece of *Chicanerie*. However it may inform the *Dissenters*, that if they be not able to answer the

End, for which they are depended upon; or be not willing in the manner and degree, that is expected; or if it be not for the interest, of the Catholick cause, to have them indulged; in all these cases, and many more, the *King* may be pronounced, acquitted, and discharged, from all the Promises, he hath given them, as having been merely stipulatory, and conditional. And as he will be sure then, *finem facere servandæ alienæ personæ*, to lay aside the disguise that he hath now put on; so if they would reflect either upon his temper or upon his Religion, they might now know, *haud gratitum in tanta superbia comitatem*, that a person of his pride would not stoop to such flattery, (as his Letter to Mr. *Alston* expresseth) but in order to some design. But what need other proof, of the fallaciousness of the two Royal Papers and that no Protestants can reasonably depend upon the *Royal Word*, there laid to pledge for the continuation of their Liberty; but to look into these two Papers themselves, where we shall meet expressions, that may both detract from our belief, of His Majesties sincerity, and awaken us to a just jealousy, that the Liberty, and Toleration, granted by them, are intended to be of no long standing and duration. For while He is pleased to tell us, that the granting His Subjects, the free use of their Religion for the time to come, is an addition to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been invaded by His Majesty since his coming to the Crown; he doth in effect say, that His Fidelity, Truth, and Integrity, in what he grants in reference to Religion, is to be measured, and judged, by the verity that is in what He tells us, as to the never having invaded our property. And that I may borrow an expression from Mr. *Alston*, and to no less a person than to the King himself, namely, that so we pretend to no refined intellectuals, nor presume to philosophise upon Mysteries of Government, yet we make some pretence to the sense of feeling, and whatever our dulness be, can discern, between what is exacted of us according to Law, and what we are rob'd of by an exercise of Arbitrary Power. For not to

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fit upon the violent seizure of mens Goods, by Officers, as well as Souldiers, in all parts of England, which looks like an invasion upon the properties of the Subject; nor to dwell upon his keeping an Army on foot in time of peace, against the Authority, as well as without the countenance of Law, which our Ancestors would have stiled an Invasion upon the whole property of the Kingdom; I would fain know, by what name we are to call his levying the customs, and the Additional Excise, before they were granted unto him by the Parliament, all the legal establishment of them upon the nation, having been only, during the late Kings life, till the settlement of them upon the Crown was again renewed by Statute. It were also worth his Majesties telling us, what Titles are due to the suspending the vice Chancellor of Cambridg a beneficio, and the turning the President of Maudlins in Oxford out of his Headship, and the suspending Dr. Fairfax from his Fellowship, if they be not an Invasion upon our property; seeing every part of this, is against all the known Laws of the Kingdom, and hath been done by no legal Court, but by a Set of mercenary villains, armed with an Arbitrary Commission, and who do as Arbitrarily Exercise it. And as the End unto which that Inquisition Court was instituted, was to robb us of ours Rights and Priviledges at the meer pleasure of the King; so the very Institution of it, is an Invasion both upon all our Laws, and upon the whole property of the Nation, and is one of the highest Exercises of Despotical Power, that it is possible for the most Absolute and unlimited Monarch to exert. Among all the Rights reserved unto the Subjects by the Rules of the Constitution, and whereof they are secured by many repeated Laws and Statutes, there are none that have been hitherto less disputed, and in reference to which our Kings have been farther from claiming any Power and Authority, than those of levying money without the grant as well as the consent of Parliament, and of Absolving and discharging Debtors from paying

their Creditors, and of acquitting them from being sued and imprisoned in case of non payment; and yet in defiance of all Law and to the subverting the Rights of the people and the most essential Priviledg and Jurisdiction of Parliaments, and to a plain changing the ancient legal Constitution into an Absolute and Despotical Governing Power, the King (they say) is assuming to himself an Authority, both of imposing a Tax of five pound per annum upon every Hackney Coach, and of Releasing and discharging all Debtors, of whom their Creditors cannot claim and demand above ten pound Sterling; which as they will be signal Invasions upon property, and calling Cases for the raising money in what other instances he pleaseth, by a Hampton Court or a Whitehall Edit, without standing in need of a Parliament, or being obliged to a dependance upon their Grant, for all Taxes to be levied upon the Subjects, as his Predecessors have heretofore been; so they may serve tully to instruct us what little security either the Dissenters have as to being long in the possession of their present liberty, or Protestants in general of having a freedom continued unto them of professing the Reformed Religion, if we have nothing more to rely upon for preventing our being abridged and denyed the liberty of our Religion, than we have had for preserving our Property from being Invaded and broken in upon. We may subjoin to the Clause already mentioned, that other Expression, which occurs in the fore-said Declaration, viz. that as he freely gives them leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, so they are to take special care, that nothing be preached or taught amongst them, which may any ways tend to eliminate the hearts of the people from his Majesty, or his Government; which words as they import the price at which the Dissenters are to purchase their freedom (whereof we shall discourse anon) so they admirably serve to furnish the King with a pretence, of retrenching their liberty whensoever he pleaseth, nor are they inserted there for any other End, but these

on a plea, of their having abused his *Gracious Indulgence to the alienating the hearts of his people from him*; they may be adjudged to have thereby deservedly forfeited all the benefits of it, and of his Royal Pardon. Nor is it possible for a *Protestant Minister* to preach one *Sermon*, which a *Romish Critick*, or a *Romish Bigot*, may not sily misconstrue, and pervert, to be an *alienation of the peoples hearts, from the Kings Person, and Government*. And of which as we have heard many late Examples in *France*, so will be easie to draw them into *president*, and to imitate them in *England*. I might add the observation of the ingenious *Author of the Reflections on his Majesties Proclamation for Toleration in Scotland*; namely, that whereas the *King* gives all assurance to his *Scotts Subjects*, that he will not use invincible necessity gainst any man, on the account of his persuasion, he does thereby leave himself at a liberty, of *Dragooning*, torturing, burning, and doing the utmost violences, all these being vincible to a person of an ardent love to God, and of a lively faith in *Jesus Christ*; and which accordingly many thousands have been triumphantly victorious over. Nor is it likely that this new and uncouth phrase of not using an invincible necessity, would have found room in a *Paper* of that nature, if it had not been first to counceal some malicious, and mischievous design, and then to justify the consistency of its execution, with what is promised in the *Proclamation*. Moreover, were there that security intended by these two *Royal Papers*, that *protestant Dissenters* might safely rely upon; or did the *King* act with that sincerity, which he would delude his people into a belief of, there would then be a greater agreeableness than there is, betwixt the *Declaration for liberty of Conscience in England*, and the *Proclamation for a Toleration in Scotland*. The principle his Majesty pretends to act from, that *Conscience ought not to be constrained, and that none ought to be persecuted for meer matters of Religion*, would oblige him to act uniformly, and with an equal extension of favour to all his Subjects,

whose principles are the same, and against whom he hath no exception, but in matters meerly Religious. Whereas the disparity of grace, kindness, and freedom, that is exercised in the *Declaration*, from that which is exerted in the *Proclamation*, plainly shews, that the whole is but a *Trick of State*, and done in sabserviency to an end, which it is not yet seasonable to discover and avow. For his circumscribing the *Toleration in Scotland*, to such *Presbyterians* as he styles moderate; is not only a taking it off from its true bottom, *matters of meer Religion*, and a founding it upon an internal quality of the mind, that is not discernable; but it implies the reserving a liberty to himself of withdrawing the benefits of it from all *Scotts Dissenters*, thro fastning upon them a contrary Character, whensoever it shall be seasonable to revive persecution. And even as it is now exerted to these moderate ones, it is attended with *Restrictions*, that his *Indulgence in England* is no ways clog'd with. All that the *Declaration* requires from those that are indulged; is that their *Assemblies*, be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, that all Persons be freely admitted to them, that they signify and make known to some Justice of the peace, what places they set apart for these uses; and that nothing be preached or taught amongst them, which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of the people from the *King* or his Government; whereas the *Proclamation*, not only restrains the meetings, of the *Scotts Presbyterians* to private Houses, without allowing them either to build meeting Houses, or to use out-houses or Barns; but it prohibits the hearing any Ministers, save such as shall be willing to swear, that they shall to the utmost of their Power, assist, defend, and maintain the *King*, in the exercise of his *Absolute power* against all deadly. Nor is it difficult to assign the reason, of the diffmity that appears in His Majesties present Actings, towards his dissenting *Protestant Subjects* in those two Kingdoms. For should there be no Restriction upon the *Toleration in Scotland*, to hinder the greatest part of the

the *Presbyterians* from taking the advantage of it; the *Bishops* and *Conforming Clergy* would be immediately forsaken by the generality if not all the people, and so an issue would not only be put to the division among *Protestants* in that Kingdom, but they would become an united, and thereupon a formidable, Body against *Papery*, which it is not for the interest of the *Roman Catholics* to suffer, or give way unto. Whereas the more unbounded the *Liberty* is, that is granted to *Dissenters* in *England*, the more are our divisions not only kept up, but increased and promoted, (especially thro this Freedom's arriving with them in an illegal way, without both the *Authority* of the *Legislative Power*, and the approbation of a great part of the People) it being infallibly certain, that there is a vast number of all ranks and conditions, who do prefer the abiding in the *Communion* of the *Church of England*, before the joining in fellowship with those of the *Separate and dissenting Societies*. Upon the whole, this different method of proceeding towards *Dissenting Protestants* in matters merely *Religious*, shews that all this *Indulgence*, and *Toleration*, is a *Trick* to serve a present juncture of Affairs; and to advance a *Popish* and *Arbitrary* design; and that the *Dissenters* have no security for the continuance of their *Liberty*, but that when the *Court* and *Jesuitick* end, is compassed and obtained, there is another course to be steered towards them; and instead of their hearing any longer, of *Liberty* and *Toleration*, they are to be told, that it is the interest of the *Government*, and the *safety*, and *honor* of his *Majesty*, to have but *one Religion* in his *Dominions*, and that all must be *Members* of the *Catholic Church*, and this because the *King* will have it so, which is the *Argument* that hath been made use of in the making so many *Converts* in *France*. They who now suffer themselves to be deluded into a confidence in the Royal word, will not only come to understand what Mr. *Coleman* meant, in his telling *Pere de la Chaise*, that the *Catholics* in *England* had a great work

upon their hand, being about the extirpation of that *Heresie*, which hath torn sway so long in this *Northern part* of the world; but they will also see and feel, how much of the design of *Rome* was represented in that passage of the *Popes Nuncio's Letter* dated at *Bruxels Aug. 9. 1674.* wherein upon the confidence which they placed in the *Duke of York*, which is not lessened since he came to the Crown, he takes the confidence to write, *that the pop'd speedily to see the total and final ruin of the Protestant Party.*

And as *Protestant Dissenters*, have no security by the *Declaration*, and *Proclamation*, for the continuance of their *Liberty*, so they that have by way of thanksgiving *Addressed* to the *King* for those *Royal Papers*, have not only acted very ill in reference both to the *Laws* and *Rights* of the Kingdoms, and of *Religion* in general, but they have carried very unwisely in relation to their own interest, and the avoiding the effects of that resentment, which most men are justly possessed with, upon the illegal Emission of these *Arbitrary* and *Prerogative Papers*. I shall not enter upon any long Discourse, concerning this new practice of *Addressing* in general, it having been done else where some years ago; but I shall only briefly intimate, that it was never in fashion, unless either under a *weak* and *precarious Government*, or under one that took illegal courses, and pursued a different interest from that of the People and Community. As he who *Rules* according to the standing *Laws* of a *Country*, over which he is set, needs not seek for an *Approbation* of his *Actions* from a part of his *Subjects*; the *Legality* of his proceedings being the best *Justification* of him that *Governs*, and giving the truest *Satisfaction* to them that are *Ruled*; so he who enjoys the love of all his people, needs not look for promises of being assisted, stood by and defended, by any one *Party* or *Faction* among them; there being none from whom he can have the least apprehension of opposition and danger. It was the want of a *Legal Title* in *Oliver Cromwell*, and his *Son Richard* to the *Government*, that first begot this device

vice of *Addressing*, and brought it upon the stage in the *se British Nations*; and it was the *Arbitrary* procedures of the *late King*, as is of his *present Majesty*, and their acting upon a *distinct bottom* from that of the three *kingdoms*, that hath revived, and does continue it. Nor is there any thing, that hath rendered those two *Princes* more contemptible abroad, and proclaimed them weaker at home, than their recurring unto, and soliciting, the flatteries and aid, of the mercenary, timorous, servile, and for low and personal ends byass'd part of their subjects, and thereby telling the World, that neither the generality nor the most honorable of their People have been united in their Interest, nor approvers of the Counsels that have been taken and pursued. And if any thing did ever cast a dishonor upon the English Nation, it hath been that loathsome flattery, and slavish Sycophancy, wherewith the *Addressers*, both now, and for some years past, have stuff'd their applications to the two *Royal Brothers*. The *Throne* that is sustained and upheld by the *Pillars of Law and Justice*, needs not to shew out unto its self other *Supporters*, nor lean upon the crooked and weak *stilts*, of the insignificant, and for the most part deceitful as well as brib'd Vows, of a sort of men, who will be as ready upon the least disgust, to cry *crucify* to morrow, as they were for being gratified, may be in their lusts, humours, and revenges, and at the best in some separate concern, to cry *Holla* to day. I shall decline prosecuting what concerns the honor, or dishonor, of him, to whom the *Adresses* are made, or how politick, or impolitick, the countenancing and encouraging them is; and shall apply my self to this new *set of Addressers*, and endeavour to shew how foolish as well as criminally they have acted. Nor is it an argument either of their prudence or honesty, or of their acting with any consistency to themselves, that having so severely inveighed against the *Addressers*, that were in fashion a few years ago, and having fast-

ned all the imputations and reproaches upon those that were accessory to them, which that rank of *Addressers* could be supposed to have deserved, they now espouse the practice which they had condemned, and in reference to as *Arbitrary* and an unjustifiable an *Act* of His present *Majesty*, as the most *illegal one* the late *King* was guilty of, or the worst exercise of *prerogative*, for which any heretofore either commended, or promised to stand by him. For tho the matter and subject of the *Arbitrary Act* of him now upon the *Throne*, be not as to every branch of it so publicly scandalous, as some of the *Arbitrary* proceedings of the late *King* were, (as relating to a favour which mankind hath a just claim unto) yet it is every way as *illegal*, being in reference to a privileged, which His *Majesty* hath no *Authority* to grant and bestow. And were it not that there are many *Dissenters*, who preserve themselves innocent at this juncture, and upon whom the temptation that is administered makes no impression; the world would have just ground to say, that the *Phanaticks* are not governed by *Principles*, but that the *measures* they walk by, are what conduceth to their private and personal benefit, or what lyes in a tendency to their loss and prejudice. And that it was not the late *Kings* usurping, and exerting, an *Arbitrary* and *illegal* power, that offended them; but that they were not the *Objects* in whose favour it was exercised. 'Tis also an aggravation of their *Folly* as well as their *Offence*, that they should revive a practice which the Nation was grown ashamed of, and whereof they who had been guilty begun to repent, thro having seen that all the former *Declarations*, *Assurances*, and *Promises* of the *Royal Brothers*, which tempted to applications of that kind, were but so many juggles, peculiar to the late *Breed* of the Family, for the deceiving of mankind; and that never *one* of them was performed and made good. But the transgression, as well as the imprudence, of the present *Addressers*, is yet the greater, and they are the more criminal.

criminal and inexcusable before God and men, in that they might have enjoyed all the benefits of the *Kings Declaration*, without acknowledging the Justice of the *Authority* by which it was granted, or making themselves the scorn and contempt of all that are truly honest and wise, by their servile Adulations, and their gratulatory *Scribbles* unbecoming *Englishmen* and *Protestants*. They had no more to do, but to continue their *meetings*, as they had sometimes heretofore used to do, without taking notice that the present *Suspension* of the *Laws*, made their Assembling together more safe, and freed them from apprehension of fines and imprisonments. Nor could the *King*, how much soever displeased with such a conduct, have at this time ventured upon the expressing displeasure against them; seeing as that would have been both to have proclaimed his hypocrisie, in saying, *that Conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of meer Religion*, and a discovering the villanous design in subversivity to which the *Declaration* had been emitted; so it were not possible for him, after what he hath published, to single out the *Dissenters* from amongst other *Protestants*; and to fall upon all, before matters are more ripe for it, might be a means of the abortion of all his *Popish* Projections, and of saving the whole *Reformed* interest in *Great Britain*. Neither would the *Church* of *England* men, have envied their tranquillity, or have blamed their carriage; but would have been glad that their *Brethren* had been eased from oppressions, and themselves delivered from the grievous and dishonorable task of prosecuting them, which they had formerly been forced unto by *Court* injunctions and commands. And as they would have by a Conduct of this nature had all the *Freedom* which they now enjoy, without the guilt and reproach which they have derived upon themselves by *Addressing*; so such a carriage, would have wonderfully recommended them

to the *Favour* of a true *English Parliament*, which tho it will see cause to condemn the *Kings* usurping a power of suspending the *Laws*, and to make void his *Declaration*, yet in gratitude to *Dissenters* for such a behaviour, as well as in pity and compassion to them as *English Protestants*, such a *Parliament* would not fail to do all it could to give them relief in a legal way. Where as if any thing enflame and exasperate the *Nation*, to revive their sufferings, it will arise from a resentment of the unworth and treacherous carriage of so many of them, in this critical and dangerous juncture. But the *Terms*, which thro their *Addressing*, they have owned the receiving their *Liberty* and *Indulgence* upon, does in peculiar manner enhance their guilt against God, and their *Country*, and strangely add to the disgust and anger, which lovers of *Religion*, and the *Laws* of the *Nation* have conceived against them. For it is not only upon the acknowledgment of a prerogative in the *King* over the *Laws*, that they have received and now hold their *Liberty*; but it is upon the condition, *that nothing be preached or taught amongst them that may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of the People from his Majesty's person and Government*. He must be of an understanding, very near allied unto, and approaching to that of an *Irish man*, who does not know what the *Courts* sense of that clause is; and that his *Majesty* thereby intends, that they are not to preach against *Popery*, nor to set forth the *Doctrines* of the *Romish Church* in terms that may prevent the peoples being infected by them, much less in colours that may render them hated and abhorred. To accuse the *Kings Religion* of *Idolary*, or to affirm the *Church* of *Rome* to be the *Apocalyptic Babylon*, and to represent the *Ariels* of the *Tridentine Faub*, as faithful *Ministers* of *Christ* ought to do; would be accounted as alienating the hearts of their bearers from the *King* and his *Government*; which as they are in the fore said *Clause* required not to do, they have by their *Addressing* confessed the injustice of the *Terms*, and have undertaken to

old their liberty by that *Terror*. And to give them their due, they have been very faithful hitherto, in conforming to what the *King* exacts; and in observing what *themselves* have consented to the equity of. For notwithstanding all the danger from *popery*, that the *Nation* is exposed unto, and all the hazard that the *Souls* of men are in, of being *poisoned* with *Romish* principles; yet instead of *preaching* or *writing* against any of the *Doctrines* of the *Church of Rome*, they have agreed among themselves, and with such of their *Congregations* as approve their procedure, not so much as to mention them; but to leave the *Province* of defending our *Religion*, and of detecting the fallhood of *papal Tenets*, to the *Pastors* and *Gentlemen* of the *Church of England*. And being ask'd (as I know some of them that have been) why they do not preach against *Antichrist*, and confute the *papal Doctrines*; they very gravely reply, that by *preaching Christ*, they *preach* against *Antichrist*; and that by *Teaching the Gospel*, they *Re-pute Popery*; which is such a piece of fraudulent and guilful subterfuge, that I want words to express the knavery and criminalness of it. What a reserve and change have I lived to see in *England*, from what I beheld a few years ago. It was but the other day, that the *Conformable Clergy* were represented by some of the *Dissenters*, not only as *favourers* of *Popery*, but as endeavouring to hale it in upon us by all the methods and ways that lay within their circle; and yet now the whole *defence* of the *Reformed Religion* must be entirely devolved into their hands; and when all the *pieces* are pulled up, that had been made to hinder *Popery* from overflowing the *Nation*, they must be left alone, to stemm the inundation, and prevent the deluge. They among the *Fanatics* that boasted to be the most avowed and irreconcilable *Enemies* of the *Church of Rome*, are not only become altogether silent, when they see the *Kingdom* pestered with a *swarm* of busie and seducing *Emissaries*; but are both turned *Advocates* for that *Arbitrary Paper* whereby we are surrendered as a prey into them, and do make it their business to

detract from the reputation, and discourage the labours of the *National Ministers*, who with a *zeal* becoming their *Office*, and a learning which deserves to be admired, have set themselves in opposition to that *croaking fry*, and have done enough by their excellent, and unimitable *Writings* to save people from being deluded and perverted, if either unanswerable *confutations* of *Popery*, or demonstrative *Defences* of the *Articles* and *Doctrines* of the *Reformed Religion*, can have any efficacy upon the minds of men. Among other fulsome flatteries adorning a *Speech* made to his Majesty by an *Addressing Dissenter*, I find this hypocritical and shameful *adulation*, namely, *that if there should remain any seeds of disloyalty in any of his Subjects, the transcendent goodness exerted in his Declaration would mortifie and kill them*; to which he might have added with more truth, that the same *transcendent goodness* had almost destroyed all the seeds of their honesty, and mortified their care and concernment for the interest of *Iesus Christ*, and for the *Reformed Religion*. Their old strain of zealous preaching against the *Idolatriy* of *Rome*, and concerning the *coming out of Babylon* my people, are grown out of fashion with them in *England*, and are only reserved, and laid by, to recommend them to the kindness, and acceptance of *forraign Protestants*, when their occasions and conveniences draw them over to *Amsterdam*. Who soever comes into their *Assemblies*, would think for any thing that he there hears delivered from their *pulpits*, that *She* which was the *Whore of Babylon* a few years ago, were now become a *chast Spouse*; and that what were heretofore the damnable *Doctrines* of *Popery*, were of late turned *innocent* and *Harmless opinions*. The *Kings Declaration*, would seem to have brought some of them to a *melius inquirendum*; and as they are already arrived to believe a *Roman Catholick* the *best King*, that they may in a little time come to esteem *Papists* for the *best Christians*. The keeping back nothing that is profitable to save such as bear them, and the declaring the whole *Counsel* of *God*; that are the *Terms* upon which they received their

Commission from Iesus Christ, and wherein they have Pauls practice and example for a pattern, would seem to be things under the Power of the Royal prerogative, and that the King may supersede them by the same Authority, by which he dispenses with the penal Statutes. Which as it is very agreeable unto, and imported in his Majesties Claim of being obeyed without reserve; so the owning this Absolute Power with that annex of challenged obedience, does acquit them from all obligations to the Laws of Christ, when they are found to interfere with what is required by the King. But whether Gods Power, or the Kings, be superior, and which of the two can cassate the others Laws, and whose wrath is most terrible; the judgment day will be able and sure to instruct them, if all means in this world prove insufficient for it. The Addressers know upon what conditions they hold their Liberty; and they have not only observed how several of the National Clergy have been treated for preaching against Popery; but they have heard how divers of the Reformed Ministers in France (before the general suppression) were dealt with, for speaking against their Monarchs Religion; and therefore they must be pardoned, if they carry so, as not to provoke his Majesty, tho in the mean time thro their silence, they both betray the Cause of their Lord and Master, and are unfaithful to the Soules of those, of whom they have taken upon them the spiritual guidance. As for the Papers themselves that are filed by the name of Addresses, I shall not meddle with them, being as to the greatest part of them, fitter to be exposed and ridicul'd, either for their dullness and pedantry, or for the adulation and sycophancy with which they are fulsomly stuff'd; than to deserve any serious consideration, or to merit reflections that may prove instructive to Mankind. Only as that Address wherein his Majesty is thanked for his restoring God to his Empire over Conscience, delivereth a rebuke for its blasphemy; so that other which commends him for promising, to force the Parliament to ratify his Declaration, (tho by the way all he says is, that he does not doubt

of their concurrence, which yet his ill success upon the closing of so many Members and his since Dissolving that Parliament shews that there was some cause for the doubting of it) I say that other Address, merits severe Censure for its insolency against the legislative Authority. And the Authors ought to be punished, for their crime committed against the Liberty and Freedom of the two Houses, and for encouraging the King to invade and subvert their most essential and fundamental Privileges, and without which, they can neither be a Council, Judiciary, nor Lawgivers.

After all, I hope the Nation will be so ingenuous, as not to impute the miscarriages of some of the nonconformists, to the whole party much less to ascribe them to the principles of Dissenters. For as the points wherein they differ from the Church of England, are purely of another Nature, and which have no relation to Politics, so the influence, that they are adapted to have, upon men as members of Civil Societies, is to make them in a special manner regardful, of the Rights, and Franchises, of the Community. But if some neither understand the tendency of their own principles, nor are true and faithful unto them, these things are the personal faults of those men, and are to be attributed to their ignorance, or to their dishonesty; nor are their miscarriages to be counted the effects of their Religious Tenets, much less are others of the party to be involved under the reproach and guilt of their imprudent and ill conduct. Which there is the more cause to acknowledge, because tho the Church of England, has all the reason of the World, to decline Addressing, in that all her legal Foundation, as well as Security, is shaken by the Declaration; yet there are some of her Dignitaries and Clergy, as well as divers of the Members of her Communion, who upon motives of Ambition, Covetousness, Fear, or Courtship, have enrolled themselves into the List of Addressers; and under pretence of giving thanks to the King, for his promise of providing for Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and Clergy, and a

of the Church of England in the free Exercise of their Religion, as by Law established; we cut the throat of their Mother, at whose breasts they have sucked till they are grown fat, both by acknowledging the usurped prerogative upon which the King assumes the Right and Authority of Emitting the Declaration; and by exchanging the legal standing, and Security of their Church, into that precarious one of the Royal word, which they fly unto as the bottom of her Subsistence, and trust to as the wall of her defence. And most of the Members of the Separate Societies, are free from all accession to Addressing, and the few that concurred were merely drawn in by the wheedle and importunity of their Preachers; so they who are of the chiefest Character, and greatest reputation for Wisdom and Learning among the Ministers, have preserved themselves from all folly and treachery of that kind. The Apostle tells us, *that not many wise, not many noble are called*; which as it is verified in many of the Dissenting Addressers, so it may serve for some kind of Apology, for their low and sneaking, as well as for their indiscreet and imprudent behaviour in this matter. And it is the more venial in some of them, as being not only a means of ingratiating themselves (as they phantasie) with the King, who heretofore had no very good opinion of them; but as being both an easy and compendious method of Attoning for Offences against the Crown, of which they were strongly suspected; and a cheap and expenceless way of purchasing the pardon of their Relations, that had stood actually accused of high Treason. Nor is it to be doubted, but that as the King will retain very little favour and mercy for Fanaticks when once he has served his Ends upon them; so they will preserve as little kindness for the Papists, if they can but obtain relief in a legal way. And as there is not a people in the Kingdom, that will be more loyal to Princess, while they continue so to govern, as that fealty by the Laws of God or man remains due to them; so there are

none of what principles or communion soever, upon whom the Kingdom it its whole interest come to ly at stake, may more assuredly and with greater confidence depend, than upon the generality of Dissenting Protestants, and especially upon those that are not of the Pastoral Order. The severities that the Dissenters lay under before, and their deliverance from oppression and disturbance now, seconded with the Kings expectation and demands of thanksgiving Addresses, were strong temptations upon men void of generosity and greatness of spirit, and who are withall of no great Political Wisdom, nor of prospect into the Consequences of Councils and tricks of State, to act as illegally, in their thanks, as His Majesty had done in his bounty. So that whatsoever animadversion they may deserve, should they be proceeded against, according to their demerit; yet it is to be hoped, that both they, and the Addressers of the former stamp, may all find room in an Act of Indemnity, and that the Mercy of the Nation towards them, will triumph over and get the better of its Justice. As it would argue a strange and judicial infatuation, should they proceed to farther excesses, and think to escape the punishment due to one Crime, by committing and taking Sanctuary in another, thro improving their compliments into actions of treachery; so all their hope of pardon, as well as of lenity and moderation, from a true Protestant and rightly constituted Authority, depends upon their conduct and behaviour henceforward, and their not suffering themselves to be hurried, and deluded, into a co-operation with the Court, for the obtaining of a Popish Parliament. All their endeavours of that kind would but more clearly detect, and manifest, their treachery to Religion and the Kingdom, it not being in their power to outvote the honest English part of the People, so as to help the King to such a House of Commons as he desires; and were it possible, that thro their assistance, in conjunction with violence and tricks used in Elections and Returns by the Court, such a

House of Commons might be obtained, as would be serviceable to *Arbitrary* and *papal* Ends; yet neither the *King* nor they, would be the nearer the compassing what is aimed at; it being demonstrable that the Majority of the *House of Lords*, are never to be wrought over to justify this illegal Declaration; or to grant the *King* a Power of *Suspending Laws*, at his pleasure; nor to give their *Assent* to a *Bill* for *Repealing* the *Test Acts*, and the *Statutes* that enjoin and require the *Oaths of Allegiance* and *Supremacy*. And if they should be so far left of God, and betrayed by those among themselves whom the *Court* hath gained, as to become guilty of so enormous an Act of folly and villany; and should the Election of the next *Parliament*, be the happy juncture they wait for, and the improving their interest, as well as the giving their own votes, for the Choice of *Papists* into the *House of Commons*, be what they mean by an essential proof of their Loyalty and See Mr. Al- of the sincerity of their humble
fops Speech to Addresses, and that whereby they
the King. intend to demonstrate, that the
greatest thing they have promised,
is the least thing they will perform for his Majesties
service and satisfaction: as in that case, they

will deserve to forfeit all hopes of being forgiven; so it would be an infidelity to God and Men, and a cruelty to ourselves and our Posterity, not to abandon them as betrayers of Religion; expunge them out of the Roll of Protestants; strip them of all that wherewith free Subjects have a Legal Right; and not to condemn them to the utmost punishment which the Laws of the Kingdom adjudge the worst of Traitors and Malefactors unto them. There are some, who thro' hating of them do wish their miscarrying and offending to be so unpardonable a degree, that they may hereafter be furnished with an advantage both of ruining them, and the whole Dissenting party for their sakes. But as the love that I bear unto them, and the perswasion and belief I have of the truth of their Religious principles, do make me exceeding solicitous to have them kept and prevented, from being hurried and transported into so fatal and criminal a behaviour; so I desire to make no other excuse for my plain dealing towards them, but that of Solomon, who tells us, that faithful are the wounds of a friend, while the kisses of an Enemy are deceitful; and that he who rebukes a man, shall find more favour afterwards, than he who flattereth with the tongue.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Since the fore-going *Sheets* went to the press, and while they were *Printing* off, there is come to my hands a new Proclamation Dated at *Windfor* the 28. of June 1687. for granting further Liberty in *Scotland*, and which was published there by an Order of the privy Council of that Kingdom bearing Date at *Edinburgh* the 5. of July. This Supersession of one Proclamation after another in reference to the same thing, is so apportioned and parallel to the late *French* method of

Emitting *Edicts* in relation to those of the Reformed Religion in that Kingdom, that they seem to proceed out of one mind, to be calculated for the same End, and to be designed for the compassing and obtaining the like effects. For as soon as an Alarm was taken at the publishing of some unreasonable and rigorous *Edict*, there used often to follow another of a milder strain, which was pretended to be either for the moderating the severities of the former, or to remove

and rectify what they were pleased to call
 misconstructions unduly put upon it; but
 the true End whereof was only to stifle and
 extinguish the jealousies and apprehensions
 that the other had begotten and excited, and
 which had they not been calmed and allayd,
 might have awakened the *Protestants* there
 to provide for their safety by a timely with-
 drawing into other Countries, if they had
 not been provoked to generous endeavours
 of preventing the final suppression of their
 Religion, and for obviating the ruin which
 that *Court* had projected against them and
 was halping to involve them under. Nor
 does my suspicion of his *Majesties* pursuing
 the same design against *Protestants*, which
 the great *Louis* gloried to have accom-
 plished, proceed merely from that conjun-
 ction of Counsels that all the world observes
 between *Whitehall* and *Versailles*; nor meer-
 ly from the *Kings* abandoning his *Nephew*
 and *Son in Law* the *Prince of Orange*, and not
 much as interposing to obtain satisfaction
 to be given him, for the many injuries, dam-
 ages, spoiles, and robberies, as well as
 affronts done him by that haughty *Monarch*;
 when one vigorous application could not
 fail to effect it; nor yet merely from that
 agreeableness in their procedures, thro the
 King of *Englands* imitating that forraign *Pa-
 triarch*, and making the whole course that
 hath been taken in *France* the *Pattern* of
 all his actions in *Great Britain*; but I am
 much confirmed in my fears and jealousies
 by remembering a passage in one of *Mr. Cole-
 mans Letters*, who as he very well knew what
 he then *Duke of York*, had been for many
 years engaged in, against our *Religion* and
Civil Liberties, and under what Vows and
 promises he was, not to desist from pro-
 secuting what had been resolved upon and un-
 dertaken; so he had the confidence to say
 that his *Masters* design and that of the *King of
 France*, was one and the same; and that this
 was no less, as he farther informs us than
 the *King of England* acted with sincerity from
 that noble principle, that conscience ought not

to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of
 meer Religion, as he would delude weak and
 easie people to believe; and had not all his
 Arbitrary and illegal proceedings in gran-
 ting Liberty to *Dissenting Protestants*, been to
 subserve and promote other designs, which
 it is not yet seasonable and convenient to
 discover and avow; he would have then
 acted with that conformity to the Principle
 he professeth to be under the influence and
 Government of, and with that consonancy
 and harmonious agreeableness, in all the de-
 grees of Indulgence, vouchsafed to those of
 the *Reformed Religion* in *England* and *Scotland*,
 that differ from them of the established way,
 that there would have needed no second
Proclamation appoynting new measures of Li-
 berty and favour to *Scotts Dissenters*, seeing
 they would have had it granted them at
 first in the same latitude and illimitedness,
 that it was bestowed upon the *English noncon-
 formists*. But when *Princes* carry on and pur-
 sue mischievous designs, under the pallia-
 tions of Religion, publick good, and the
 Right of Mankind; it comes often to pass
 thro adapting their methods to what they
 mean and intend, and not to what they pre-
 tend and give out, that their crafty projec-
 tions, by being not sufficiently accommodated
 to their purposes, prove ineffectual to the
 compassing what was aim'd at; and this forc-
 eth them to a new game of falsehood and
 subtilty, but still under the old varnish
 and gloss, and obligeth them to have re-
 course to means that may be more propor-
 tioned than the former were, for their reach-
 ing the End that they ultimately drive at.
 Thence it is that those *Rulers*, who are en-
 gaged in the prosecution of wicked and unju-
 stifiable designs, are necessitated not only to
 apply themselves to opposite Methods to-
 wards different parties, and those such as must
 be suited and apportioned to their discrepant
 interests, without the accommodating of
 which they can neither hope to mould them
 to that tame and servile compliance, nor
 work them up to that active and vigorous a-
 betting of their malicious and crafty projec-
 tions.

Gions as is necessary for the rendering them
 successful; but they are forced to vary their
 proceedings towards one and the same *Party*,
 and that as well when the ways they have
 acted in towards them are found inadequate
 to the End unto which they were calculated,
 as when the mischief hid under them comes
 to be too soon discovered. This weak and
 short-sighted people fancy to arise from an
 uncertainty in *Princes* counsels, and from
 their being at no consistency with them-
 selves; but they who can penetrate into
 affairs and that do consider things more nar-
 rowly, can easily discern, that all this va-
 riation, diversity, and shifting of methods
 in *Rulers* actings, proceed from other cau-
 ses, and that it is their stability and perseve-
 rance in an illegal and wicked design, that
 compels them to those crooked and con-
 trary Courses, either for the gaining the
 unwary and ill-applied concurrence of their
 Subjects, to the hastning distress and deso-
 lation upon themselves, or for the throwing
 them into that lethargy, and under that stu-
 piness, as may hinder them from all endea-
 vours of obstrueting and diverting the evils,
 that their Governours are seeking to bring
 upon them. Nor is there a more certain
 indication, of a *Prince*s being engaged in a
 design, contrary to the good and happiness
 of the *Society*, over which he is set; than
 his betaking himself to illegal ways, upon
 pretence of promoting the ease and bene-
 fit of his people; or according as he finds
 his Subjects to differ in their particular in-
 terests, his applying himself to them in me-
 thods, whereof the contrariety of the one
 to the other, renders them the more pro-
 per and adapted to ensnare the divided fa-
 ctions, thro' accosting each of them with
 something that they are severally fond of.
Legal means are always sufficient to the pur-
 suing and compassing *legal Ends*: and what-
 soever is for the general good of the *Communi-
 ty*, may either be obtained by courses,
 wherein the generallity find their united in-
 terest and common felicity, or else by appli-
 cation to a *Parliament* freely and duly chosen,

which as it represents the whole political
 Society, so there may be expected most com-
 passion and tenderness, as well as wisdom
 and prudence, for redressing the grievan-
 ces, easing the troubles, and providing for
 the benefit and safety of all that are wrapt
 up in and represented by them. And as every
Prince, who sincerely seeks and pursues the
 advantage of his People, will so adjust and
 attempt all his actions towards them, that
 his whole carriage shall be uniform, and
 all the exercises of his Governing power,
 meet in the benefit of the *Community*, as so
 many lines from a *circumference* uniting in
 their *Centre*; so there needs no other proof
 that these *two* or *three* late *Actions* of His
Majesty, which a foolish sort of men are
 apt to interpret for favours, and to ac-
 count them effects of compassion and kind-
 ness; are but to conceal his malice, and to
 subserve as well as cover some fatal and
 pernicious design, that he is carrying on
 against his *Protestant Subjects*, than that while
 he is gratifying a few of them in one thing,
 he is at the same time robbing all of them
 of many; and that while he is indulging the
Dissenters with a Freedom from the *penal
 Laws* for matters of *Religion*, he is invading
 the *proprieties*, and subverting the *Civil Rights*
 of the three Nations, and changing the whole
 Constitution of the Government. He that
 strips us of what belongs unto us as we
 are *English* and *Scotts men*: cannot mean hon-
 estly in the favours he pretends to vouch-
 safe us as we are *Christians*; nor can he that
 is endeavouring to enslave our persons, and
 to subject our Estates to his Arbitrary lust
 and pleasure, intend any thing else by this
 kindness granted to *Fanaticks* in matters of
Religion, than the dividing them from the rest
 of the People, in what concerns the *Civil
 Interest* and external happiness of the *Com-
 munity*, and to render them an engaged Fa-
 ction to assist and abet him in enthralling
 the Kingdoms. Whosoever considers the
 whole Tenor of his *Majesties* other Actings,
 in proroguing and dissolving *Parliaments*,
 when he finds them uncompliant with his

ish and despotical Ends; his keeping on
 not a formidable Army, against all the
 Laws of the Land; and upon no other in-
 tention, but to maintain *him* in his Usurpa-
 tions over our Rights; and to awe us into
 tame and servile submission to his *Preroga-
 tive* will; His filling all places of *Judicature*,
 with weak as well as *Treacherous* persons,
 who instead of administering Justice may be
 the *Instruments of Tyranny*; his robbing men
 of their Estates, by judicial *forms*; and under
 pretence that *nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, af-
 ter they have been quietly enjoyed by the
 Subjects for several hundred years; his advan-
 cing none to *Civil or Military* Employes, but
 whom he hath some confidence in, as to the
 finding them ready to execute his *despotical*
Injunctions; and his esteeming no persons
Loyal and faithful to himself, save those who
 are willing to *betray* their *Country*; and be
Rebells and Traitors against the *Legal Consti-
 tution*: I say whosoever considers all this, and
 a great deal more of the same Hue and com-
 plexion, cannot imagine (unless he be an-
 der a judicial blindness and a strange infa-
 tuation) that any thing arriving from the
King, tho it may be a matter wherein they
 may find their present ease and advantage
 should proceed from compassion and good
 will to his *Protestant* Subjects; but that it
 must be only in order to promote a distinct
 interest from that of his people, and for the
 better and more easie accomplishing of some
 wicked and unjustifiable design. And tho his
Majesty would have us believe, that the rea-
 sons moving him to the Emission of this 2^d
Proclamation, were the *sinistrus Interpretations*
which either have, or may be made, of some
Restrictions in his former; yet it is not difficult
 even without being of his privy Council, to
 assign a truer motive, and a more real and
 effectual cause of it. For as that of the 12th
 of February, came forth attended with so
 many limitations, not easie to be digested
 by men of wisdom or honesty, lest if it had
 been more unconfin'd and extensive, and
 should have opened a Door for all *Scotts*
Dissenters to have gone in and taken the be-

nefit of it, the generality of Protestants in
 that Kingdom; abstracting from the Bi-
 shops, *Curates*, and a few others, should have
 joined in the *separate* interest; and thereby
 have become an united Body against popery;
 but upon finding that hardly any would pur-
 chase their freedom from the *penal* laws, at
 so dear a rate, as to do things so unbecom-
 ing Men and Christians, as the conform-
 ing to the *Terms* therein prescribed obli-
 ged them unto; and that as they of the *National*
Communion were alarm'd and disgusted,
 so few or none of the *Dissenting fellowships*
 were pleas'd; and that both were not only
 angry at the many illegal favours, and
 threatening advantages, bestowed upon the
Papists; but were grown so sensible of the
 design carrying on against the Protestant
 Religion, and the liberties and privileges
 of the Subject; that tho they could not re-
 nounce their respective tenets in the matters
 wherein they differed, yet they were wil-
 ling to stifle their heats and animosities, and
 to give that encouragement, aid, and assis-
 tance to one another, as was necessary
 for their common safety: upon these *con-
 siderations*, his *Majesty* (if he would have
 spoken sincerely) ought to have said, that
 he had published this *new Proclamation*, in
 order to hinder *Scotts Protestants* from uni-
 ting, for their mutual defence, against Tur-
 kish Tyranny, and Romish Idolatry, and in
 hopes thereby to continue and exasperate
 their undue and passionate heats, and to
 keep them not only in divided and opposi-
 te interests, but to make them contribute
 to the suppressing and ruining each other,
 or at least to look on unconcernedly, till
 he have ripen'd his designs against them
 both, and be prepar'd for extirpating the
 Reformed Religion, and for subverting the
 fundamental as well as Statute Laws, and
 for bringing such to the stake and Gibbet,
 as shall have the integrity to assert the one,
 or the courage to plead for the other. And
 yet in this *last Proclamation*, wherein he
 grants a more illimited freedom, than in
 the former, and promiseth to Protect *all*
 in

in the exercise of *These* Protestant Religion; as he disdainfully and ignominiously calls it, there is a clause, that may discourage all honest men from owning their *Liberty* to the Authority that bellows it, and from which it is derived and conveyed to them. For not being satisfied to superstruct his pretended Right, of *Suspending, Stopping, and Disabling Laws*, upon his *Sovereign Authority* and *Prerogative Royal*, but as knowing that these gave no such pre-eminence and Jurisdiction over the *Laws* of the *Kingdom*, he is pleased to challenge unto himself an *Absolute Power*, as the source and spring of that exorbitant and Paramount Claim, which he therein exerciseth and exerts. And forasmuch as *Absolute Power*, imports his *Majesties* being loose and free from all ties and restraints, either by fundamental *Stipulations*, or superadded *Laws*; it is very natural to observe, that he allows the Government under which we were born, and to which we were sworn and blood bound, to be hereby subverted and changed, and that thereupon we are not only absolved and acquitted, from the Allegiance and fealty, we were formerly under to his *Majesty*, but are indispensably obliged by the *ties* and engagements that are upon us, of maintaining and defending the Constitution and Government, to apply our selves to the use of all means and endeavours against him, as an Enemy of the people, and a subverter of the legal Government, wherein all the interest he had, or could lawfully claim, was an *official Trust*, and not an *Absolute Power* or a *dispositive Dominion*, the first whereof he hath deposed and abdicated himself from, by challenging and usurping the latter. And should any *Scots dissenter*, either in his entrance upon the *Liberty* granted by this *Proclamation*, or in addressing by way of thankfulness for it, take the least notice of this freedom's flowing from the *King*, which cannot be done, without Recognising this *Absolute Power* in his *Majesty* as the fountain of it, he is to be lookt upon as the worst of Traitors, and deserves to be proceed

ded against both for his accession unto, and justifying the subversion of the *Laws, Liberties, and Government* of his Country, and for betraying the Rights of all free-born men. For those few Reflections in the fore-going Sheets, which this New *Proclamation* may not only seem to render useless and frustrate the end whereunto they were intended, but may make the publishing an animadversions upon that, which the *King* by departing from, does himself Censure and condemn, he esteemed both a failure in ingenuity and candor, and a want of regard to those Measures of Justice, which ought to be observed towards all men, and more especially towards Crowned Heads; I shal only say that as the *Proclamation* arrived with me too late, to hinder and prevent the communication of them to the publick; so I have this farther to add in justification of their being published, that it will thereby appear, that what his *Majesty* styles *sinistrous Interpretations made of some Restrictions mentioned in his former*, are no other than the just, natural, genuine, and obvious constructions, which they ly open unto, and are capable of, and which a man cannot avoid fastning upon them, without renouncing all Sense and Reason. And while the *King* continues to disparage and asperse all sober and judicious *Reflections* upon that Royal Paper, by charging upon them the unjust and reproachful Character of *sinistrous Interpretations*; it is necessary as well as equal, that the whole matter should be plainly and impartially represented to the World, and that the decision be remitted and left to the understanding and country, as a part of mankind who are the calumniators and Slanderers, they who accuse the *Proclamation* of importing such principles, consequences, and tendencies, or he and his *Ministers*, who think they have avoided and answered the imputations fastned upon it, when they have loaded them with hard and uncivil terms. For tho he be pleased to assume to himself an *Absolute Power*, which all are bound to obey without reserve, and in the virtue of which

he *Suspend, Stops, and Disables* what Laws he pleaseth; yet I do not know but that his intellectuals being of the size of other mens, and that seeing neither his Sovereignty, nor *Catholicness*, have vested in him an Inerrability, why we may not enter our *plea* and demurr to the dictates of his Judgment, tho we know not how to withstand the efforts of his *Power*. Nor shall I subjoin any more, save that whereas his *Majesty* Declares so many Laws *to be disabled to all Intents and purposes*, he ought to have remembered, that beside other *intents and purposes* that several of them may hereafter serve

unto as the Papists may possibly come to have experience; there is one thing in reference to which, he cannot even at present, hinder & prevent their usefulness and efficacy, and that is not only their raising and exciting all just resentments in the minds of free-born and generous men, for his challenging a Power to *Suspend and Cassate* them, but their remaining and continuing *Monuments* of his Infidelity to the Trust reposed in him, of his departure from all promises made at and since his entering upon the Government, and of his invading and subverting all the Rules of the Constitution.

F I N I S.

Pag. 4 col. 2. lin. 3. after *Court* put, . *ibid.* lin. 41. r. *know*. P. 5. col. 1. l. 3. to *account*. *ibid.* l. 30. r. *impeperate*. *ibid.* col. 2. l. 35. r. *in*. P. 6. col. 2. l. 18. after *order* put, . P. 7. col. 2. l. 39. for *as*: *as*. P. 11. col. 1. l. 31. r. *stirred up*. *ibid.* l. penult. *r. judge*. P. 25. col. 2. in the margin r. *Ret. Parl. 7. Hen. 4.* P. 31. col. 2. l. 11. *r. obsolete*. P. 40. col. 1. l. 38. r. *Promisec*. P. 47. col. 1. l. 27. r. *reverses*.

